

कापिलसूत्रम् ।

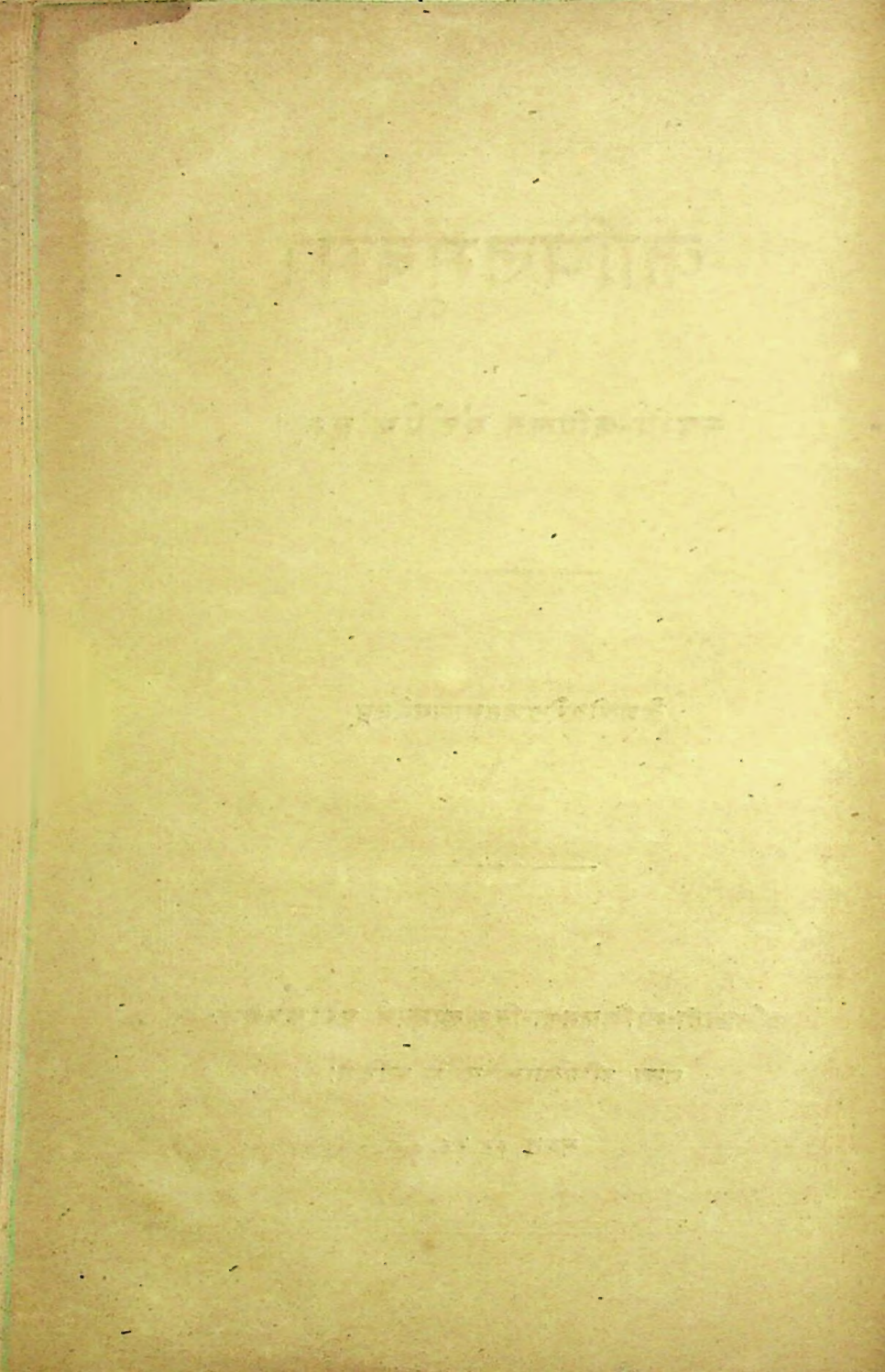
महर्षि-कपिलेन संक्षेपेणोक्तम् ।

द्विजश्रीनरेन्द्रदातभाष्यसमेतम् ।

कलिकाता-माणिकतला-टि्टाख्यस्थाने पुराणप्रकाश-

यन्त्रे श्रीगोपालचन्द्रेण सुद्धितः ।

संवत् १८२८ ।



कापिलसूत्रभाष्यम् ।

ॐ नमः परमात्मने ।

यमीशमानन्तसुखं समाधिना
मनोपिणामाप मनो विचिन्त्य तम् ।

ऋषिञ्च नत्वा कपिलं पुरातनं
विनिर्ममे कापिलसूत्रभाष्यकम् ॥

अथेह जगति खलु निखिलप्राणिनां दुःखं माभूत्, सुखं मे
भूयादिति सततं सुखोत्पत्तिदुःखहाने अभिलषिते स्तः । नहि
दुःखतिरोभावमन्तरेण सुखस्यानुभवो भवति । विरोधिधर्मयो-
स्तयोस्तमः प्रकाशयोरिव सामानाधिकरण्याभावात् । यद्यनादि-
संसारे दुःखं न स्यात्, तदा तन्निराकरणोपायं कः कुर्यात् ।
स्यादेतत् तापत्रयप्रतीकारविषयेऽवश्यं यत्नः करणीयः, यत्-
क्षापत्रयनिवृत्तिरेव परमपुरुषार्थ इति । शास्त्रज्ञानमेव तदु-
पायः नान्यदुपायान्तरं प्रारोक्षितशास्त्रप्रतिपादितस्य ज्ञानस्य
विवेकहेतुत्वात्, इति मनसि विचारितवान् भगवान् पञ्चशिखा-
चार्यः, स्वाध्यायोऽध्येतव्य इत्यादिनाध्ययनविधिना स्वाङ्गस्वाधा-

यार्णवपारङ्गत आत्मा प्रकृतितो विवेक्तव्य इति चरमफलदाह-
तया संगृह्य ऋषिवरं नारायणस्वरूपं कपिलम् उपागमत् । ततः
सदसद्विचारामलचित्तः कपिलोऽनेन द्वाविंशतिसूत्रेणाज्ञान-
निराकरणेन हेतुं प्रतिपादयिष्यन् शिष्यावबोधाय संचोपेण
शास्त्रारम्भं प्रतिजानीते । नन्वय त्रिविधदुःखात्यन्तनिवृत्तिरत्यन्त-
पुरुषार्थ इत्यादि षडध्यायस्य सांख्यस्यानेन पौनरुक्तता भवति,
श्रुतिप्रतिपाद्यस्य समाधिविशारदस्य कपिलस्यैवेषद्वाप्तित्वात् ।
तथाहि श्रुतिः “ऋषिं प्रसूतं कपिलं यस्तमग्रे ज्ञानैर्विभर्त्ति जाय-
मानञ्च पश्येत्” इति । सत्यमुच्यते, यत एकविषयत्वेन बालबोधि-
तयास्योक्तत्वात्, उभयोः शास्त्रयोरात्मतत्त्वनिरूपणं सांख्यशब्दस्य
योगरूढतया सांख्यमंज्ञाभिहिता । तथाच “संख्यां प्रकुर्वते चैव
प्रकृतिञ्च प्रवर्त्तते । तत्त्वानि च चतुर्विंशत् तेन सांख्याः प्रकी-
र्त्तिता” इति महाभारतप्रमाणात् । किन्तावत् तत् शास्त्रम् ?

सूचम् । अथातस्तत्त्वे समासः ॥१॥

“अथ स्यान्मङ्गले प्रश्ने कार्यारम्भेष्वनन्तरे । अधिकारे
प्रतिज्ञायामन्वादेशादिषु क्वचित्” इत्यादिना यद्यप्यथ शब्दस्यैते
बहवोऽर्था दृश्यन्ते तथाप्यत्राधिकारार्थ एव गृह्यते अन्येषामर्थानां
नास् अलुपयोगात्, नन्वादौ ग्रन्थस्य मङ्गलाचरणस्यावश्यकत्वम् ।
न हि मङ्गलाचरणमृते ग्रन्थस्य परिमपान्निर्मन्यते इति चेत्,
सत्यं, ब्रूमः । अथ शब्दस्योच्चारणेन निखिलविघ्नप्रचयनिवारकेण
मङ्गलार्थः प्रतीयते, अतः शिष्टाचाराविरोधो भवतीति । अथ
इत्यधिकारे । अतः शब्दो हेत्वर्थः । यथेह कर्मचितो लोकः
चीयते एवमेवामुत्र पुण्यचितो लोकः चीयते इत्यादि श्रुत्या
कर्मफलस्यानित्यत्वादित्यर्थः । तत्त्वशब्दो वेदप्रतिपाद्य-याथा-

र्थार्थः । समसनं समासः संक्षेप इति यावत् तत्त्वस्य समासः
तत्त्वे समासः इति वेदितव्य इति शेषः ।

तान् स्फुटीकर्त्तुं सूत्रमवतारयति—

कथयामि अष्टौ प्रकृतयः ॥२॥

कथयामीति च्छेदः क्रमेण प्रकृतौः कथयामीत्यर्थः । कः
प्रकृत्यर्थः, कतमा पुनः प्रकृतिः, किंयती वा? प्रकरोतीति प्रकृतिः,
प्रसवधर्मिणीत्यर्थः । सा द्विविधा, शुद्धा मिश्रा च । सत्त्वरजस्तमसां
साव्यावस्थया अव्यक्तं प्रधानम् अचेतनं जगतः कारणमित्येका
शुद्धा । एतेषां वैषम्यावस्थया महत्तत्त्वाहङ्कारपञ्चतन्मात्राणि
प्रकृतिविद्यमानानि । सप्त मिश्राः । एता अष्टौ प्रकृतयः ।
तथाहि प्रकृतेर्महान्, महतोऽहङ्कारः, अहङ्कारात् पञ्च तन्मा-
त्राणि इति । महत्तत्त्वं किन्तावत्? बुद्धिविशेषः, अहङ्कारश्च
अहङ्कारोमीति व्यवहारात्मकः, पञ्च तन्मात्राण्यपि शब्दस्पर्शरूप-
रसगन्धविशेषाणि सूक्ष्माणीति । ननु कथम् अचेतनादेव उत्-
पत्तिः, न हि चेतनकर्त्तारं विनोत्पत्तिरस्ति व्यतिरेकेण घट-
वत् । एतदेव सत्यमुच्यते केवलमचेतनेऽपि शक्तिर्हृष्यते यथा ।
चेतनमपि क्षीरं वत्सविद्वद्वये भवति, एवमचेतनात् गोम-
यादेः कीटो जायते तद्वत् अत्राहो क्षीरे गोमये च मातृगो-
शरीराधिष्ठानात् चेतनाद्धेतोः शक्तिर्मन्येत, नैतत् साधूच्यते,
गोमातृशरीरयोः चेतनावगतेः कुतस्ताभ्यां त्यक्तयोः क्षीरगो-
मययोः चेतनावगतिः, न कदाचिदपि तयोर्दृष्टमनयोः
चेतनं प्रतीयते । अथवा यथायस्कान्तस्य चेतनासंयुक्तस्य सन्नि-
धिमानेण स्पन्दनशक्तिर्हृष्यते एवं सर्वत्रापि अचेतनाच्चेतनो भव-
तीति बोद्धव्यम् ॥२॥

प्रकृतिसुक्ता विकाराननुवदितुं सूत्रयति ।

षोडशकस्तु विकारः ॥३॥

षोडशसंख्यको विकारः तु शब्दोऽवधारणे । अथ कोऽयं षोडशको विकारः । पृथिव्यप्तेजोवायुगगनानि पञ्च भूतानि, वाक्पाणिपादपायूपस्थानि पञ्च कर्मेन्द्रियाणि, श्रोतस्त्वङ्मूत्ररसनाघ्राणानि पञ्च ज्ञानेन्द्रियाणि मनश्च, एष षोडशको विकारः । ननु भूत्यादीनां घटाद्युपादानभूतानां कथं विकारता ? पञ्चतन्मात्रवत् तेषामुभयात्मकत्वात् न चौरस्य विकारो दधि, तद्विकारो नवनीतम्, तद्विकारो दौर्गन्धमित्याद्यनवस्थाप्रसक्तेः । किञ्च घटपटादीनि वस्तूनि न चित्याद्यतिरिक्तानि भवन्ति, वाचारक्षणं विकारो नामधेयं मृत्तिकेत्येव सत्यमित्यादि श्रुतेः । एतावता भूमाणिबीजादिषु घटपयोऽङ्कुरादिषु च इन्द्रियसन्निकर्षज्ञानस्य तुल्यत्वेन न वस्त्वन्तरमिति भावः ।

यथा रथादेरचेतनस्याश्वेन सह संयोगात्, गतिक्रिया, तथा सर्वत्र चेतनसम्बन्धेन चेतनोपलब्धिरित्यभिप्रेत्य वर्णयति ।

पुरुषः ॥४॥

पुरि शरीरे शेते इति पुरुषः, यत्संयोगेन सर्वं चैतन्यवद्भाति स भोक्ता निर्लेपो नित्योऽप्रमवशीलः । तथाच श्रुतिः, अङ्गुष्ठमात्रः पुरुषो ज्योतिरिवाधूमकः ईशानो भूतभव्यस्य स एवास्य स उ श्व एतद्वैतत् अशब्दमस्यार्शमरूपमव्ययमित्यादि । नन्वत्र पुरुष एक एव बहवो वा किन्तावत् प्राप्तं, नाद्यः सति पुरुषस्यैकत्वे एकस्मिन्, मृते सर्वे म्रियेरन् इत्यादिना सहसा मृष्टिलोपापत्तेः । तथापि पुरुषस्य एकत्वं स्यात् औपाधिक-

भेदेन वज्रत्वाद्वटाकाशमठाकाशवत् । ननु पुरुषस्य औपाधिका-
नेकत्वेऽभ्युपगम्यमानेऽपि कालेन संसारलोपप्रसक्तिः स्यात्,
तत्तज्ज्ञानोपाधिविनाशे निर्मोक्षश्रवणात् न ह्यटद्धिमतो वस्तुनोऽ-
वस्थितिरस्ति यथा परिमाणरहितानां धनराशीनाम् आय-
हीनानां वितरणशीलस्याचिरेणैव कालेन समूलक्षयो भवेत् तद्
वत्, तन्न युक्तियुक्तं, मातापितृभ्यां जातस्य पुत्रशरीरस्य तयोरंश-
भूतत्वात् तच्छरीराधिष्ठितपुरुषयोरंशः वासनाया अंशश्च पुत्रादौ
केन वार्यते, न ह्यभयोः शरीरानंशेन प्राणिनः आविर्भवन्तीति
स्वसमानजातीयचैतन्यं कार्येष्ववगम्यते यथा तन्वादेरुपादा-
नात् रक्तपीतसंयोगिनो रक्तः पटः पीतः पटः इति तद्वत् महा-
भारते श्रुतावपि च, कलेरंशश्च संजज्ञे भुवि दुर्योधनो नृप ।
आत्मा वै जायते पुत्र इत्यादि एतेन अनादीनां निखिलपुरुषाणां
पितृरंशभूतानाञ्च मध्ये केचित् संसरन्ति, केचित् सुच्यन्ते,
नैतत् सम्प्रदायविदां रुचिकरम्, अपरिणामिसंख्यपुरुषविरोधात्,
अतो द्वितीयः, सुखदुःखजन्ममरणादीनां नानात्वत् वर्णाश्रमादि-
धर्माणां भूयस्त्वाच्च । नास्मिन् पक्षेऽपि जगतो लोप इति वाच्यं
पुरुषस्थानन्तत्वे विरोधात्, एतानि पञ्चविंशतितत्त्वानि सांख्या-
चार्या मन्यन्ते । अथ पुरुष आदिमान् कथं न स्यात् न अनादि-
वासनावशेन घटोयन्तवत् कुलालचक्रवच्च पुनःपुनः जन्ममरण-
प्रतिपाद्यश्रुत्यनवकाशात् । तथाहि श्रुतिः, संवत्सरो वै प्रजा-
पतिस्तस्यायने दक्षिणञ्चोत्तरञ्च तत् वेह वै तदिष्टापूर्त्तं कृत
इत्युपासते ते चान्द्रमसमेव लोकमभिनयन्ते त एव पुनरावर्तन्ते
तस्मादेत ऋषयः प्रजाकामाः दक्षिणं प्रतिपाद्यन्ते एष भू वैरयि
पितृयान अथोत्तरेण तपसा ब्रह्मचर्येण अक्षया विद्यया ज्ञान-
मन्विष्यादित्यभिजायन्ते इत्यादि ।

इदानीं पञ्चविंशतितत्त्वानुक्ता अवान्तरगुणान् विभजते ।

त्रैगुण्यम् ॥५॥

तयो गुणाः सत्त्वरजस्तमांसि तेषां भावस्त्रैगुण्यम् । इतश्च प्रधानं त्रैगुण्यं सत्त्वरजस्तमसामन्योन्यगुणप्रधानभावं हित्वा साम्येन स्वरूपेणावस्थानं बुध्यते कस्मात् श्रुतिविहितत्वात् । तथाहि अजामेकां लोहितशुक्लकृष्णां बह्वीः प्रजाः सृजमानां स्वरूपाः । अजो ह्येको जुषमाणोऽनुशेते जहात्येनां भुक्तभोगा-
मजोऽन्यः ॥ एतैरुपादानावस्थितगुणैः सुखदुःखाद्यात्मकैः सह निःसङ्गस्य चेतनस्य पुरुषस्य सम्बन्धोऽस्ति सन्निधिभात्रत्वात् प्रदी-
पतमसोरिव । ननु कथं निरवयवे जगदुपादानभूते गुणसम्बन्धः सम्भवेदिति, लोके सावयवेषु उत्पन्नादिषु नीलादयो गुणा दृश्यन्ते, न कुत्रापि निरवयवेषु । सत्यम्, इदानीं वर्ण्यते लोकवदलौकि-
कस्य वेदावबोधस्य शक्तिर्न विद्यते वैदिकस्य सर्वशक्तिमत्त्वात् । अथ वा यदि लौकिकेषु निरवयवेषु परमाणुषु शुक्लादयो गुणा मन्यन्ते, तदा सर्वशक्तिमतो जगत्कारणस्यापि दूषणं भूषणमेव ।
प्रकृतेः सत्त्वादिगुणानुक्ता तासामपि धर्मान् विवदिषुः सूत-
यति ।

सञ्चरः प्रतिसञ्चरः ॥६॥

उत्पत्तिः सञ्चरशब्दार्थः, प्रलयः प्रतिसञ्चरशब्दार्थः । अतः अष्टाभ्यः प्रकृतिभ्यः सञ्चरः श्रूयते एवं तासु प्रतिसञ्चरश्च । कस्मात् यतो वेदएव प्रकृतेः महान्, महतोऽहङ्कारः, अहङ्कारात् पञ्च तन्मात्राणि भिजायन्ते, एवं तन्मात्राणि अहङ्कारे अहङ्कारो-
मर्हति महान् मूलप्रकृतौ लीयन्ते इति । यथा कूर्मः खकीया-

स्यङ्गानि क्वचित् प्रसरति क्वचित् आकुञ्चति, एवं जर्णनाभः
स्वयमेव सूत्रं वह्निर्निःसरति अन्तः आक्रामति, तद्वत् प्रकृतयो-
ऽप्यनुलोमप्रतिलोमेन इति । इदानीम् एतेषां सांख्यमन्यमानानां
पदार्थानां सुखदुःखालकतया तत्स्वरूपं वर्णयति ।

अध्यात्ममधिभूतमधिदैवञ्च ॥७॥

निखिलं चातुर्विधप्राणिजातं जगत् तापत्रयासंयुक्तं न वेदि-
तव्यं कथं त्रैविध्याश्रयादिति । किन्तावत् त्रैविध्यम् अत्रोच्यते ।
अध्यात्ममधिभूतमधिदैवञ्चेति आत्मनि शरीरे चित्ते वा अधि
अध्यात्मं तच्च द्विविधं शरीरं मानसञ्च । शरीरञ्च वायुपित्त-
कफानां वैषम्यनिमित्तं, मानसञ्च कामक्रोधलोभमोहभीतिविषा-
देर्यामनोरथविषयादर्शननिमित्तम् । एतत् सर्वम् अध्यात्मदुःखं
वेदितव्यम् अन्तरसाध्यत्वात् । अधिभूतं भूतमधिकृत्य मानुषपशु-
पक्षिसर्पस्थावरनिमित्तम् । अधिदैवं दैवमधि ग्रहविनायकयक्ष-
राक्षसाद्यावेशनिमित्तम् । एतैस्त्रिविधैर्दुःखैः प्रकृतिप्रकृतिवि-
कारविकाराणां तादात्म्यमिति भावः । एतेषां विनाशे बहवः सुग-
मोपायाः सन्ति तथाहि शरीरस्य दुःखस्य उपशमनाय वैद्यनि-
करैर्वनस्पतिरसाद्यनः सहजोपाय उपदिष्टः मानसस्यापि तापस्य
प्रतिकाराय सुरस्यहर्ष्यकामिन्यपूर्वभोजनालङ्कारादिहेतुः सु-
लभः एवाधिभूतस्य दुःखस्य निवारणाय नीतिशास्त्राभ्यास-
पटुता कारणम् । तथा अधिदैवस्य दुःखस्य निराकरणाय मणि-
मन्त्रयोगो हेतुः । स्यादेतत् तथापि न एतेषां तापत्रयाणाम्
एतैरतिशया निवृत्तिः पुनःपुनरुत्पत्तिसम्भवात् ज्ञेयम् ॥७॥

सम्प्रति बह्वैः साधारणं धर्म्मं निनदिषु सूत्रं रचयति ।

अभिवृध्यन्ते ज्ञायन्ते एभिरित्यभिवृद्धयः । कियत्प्रस्ताः
 पञ्च कतमाः पुनः । त्रिविधमन्तःकरणं बुद्धीन्द्रियं कर्मेन्द्रियञ्च ।
 बुद्धग्रहङ्कारमनांस्थान्तःकरणानि अध्यवसायो वृद्धिधर्मः अभि-
 मानः अहङ्कारस्य सङ्कल्पविकल्पौ मनसः । बुद्धीन्द्रियाणि दर्श-
 नादिक्रियाभेदेन यथामंख्यं चक्षुःश्रोत्रघ्राणरसनात्वग्रूपाणि ।
 अवान्तरभेदाः पञ्च । कर्मेन्द्रियाणि च वचनादिक्रियाभेदेन
 यथामंख्यं वाक्पाणिपादपायूपस्थरूपाणि पञ्चसाकल्येनावान्त-
 रभेदेन त्रयोदशविधं करणमित्यर्थः । अत आदिरहितधारा-
 वाहिकजन्मभरणवति जगति समस्तवस्तुजातस्य वेदितव्यतया
 अभिवृद्धयः शक्याः । यत्तु अन्तःकरणानां मध्ये मनसोऽिन्द्रि-
 यत्वमित्युक्तं तन्न युक्तियुक्तं मनसा सर्वेन्द्रियनियन्ता सह स्वस्व-
 विषयेषु इन्द्रियादीनां तदात्मप्रावगमात् अयोगोलकवत् । एतेन
 बुद्धग्रहङ्कारयोरिन्द्रियता याता अहं सुखी अहमेव इत्यादि
 प्रत्यक्षावगमात् ।

नहि बुद्ध्यादेर्निरिन्द्रियत्वेन प्रत्यक्षावगतिः । ननु तन्मते
 सर्वेषां पदार्थानां व्यापकत्वाङ्गीकारेऽपि पुरुषभेदे बुद्ध्यादिभेदो
 न न्याय्यः, कुत एकत्वावधारणात् । सत्यं, न यतो वासनानु-
 रूपी परिणामी बुद्ध्यादिः स्वीक्रियते । अनया वासनया इन्द्रि-
 याणां विषयविशेषप्रवृत्तिः निवृत्तिर्वा भवति ।

स्यादेतत् वासनायाः कुत आविष्करणं इत्याशङ्कित आह ।

पञ्च कर्मयोनयः ॥९॥

कर्म एव योनिः कारणं येषां ते कर्मयोनयः बुद्धिवृत्तयः

इति यावत् । अतः प्राणिनां सुखदुःखोपभोगाय क्लिष्टाक्लिष्ट-
भेदेन कर्मयोगः पञ्च व्यवह्रीयन्ते । यस्मात् अनया क्लिष्टया
वृत्त्या संसारानलसंतप्तः जन्तुः दुःखं भुङ्क्ते । एवम् अक्लिष्टया
वृत्त्या च उत्पन्नविवेकज्ञानः सन् सुमुक्तः परमानन्दः सुख-
यश्नाति । ताः कियत्यः ? आह, प्रमाणविपर्ययविकल्पनिद्रा-
स्मृतयः । षडध्यायसांख्यभाष्ये विज्ञानभिच्छुणा एतत् प्रपञ्चितं,
विस्तारमिवात्र न प्रतिपादितम् ॥

इदानीं भूतानाम् एकतमस्य प्रकारभेदं रचयति ।

पञ्च वायवः ॥१०॥

एते वायवः पञ्च वेदितव्याः, यतः उत्पत्तिविनाशिनां
प्राणिनां नाना वृत्तयः सन्ति । तथाहि प्राणोऽपानः समानश्च
उदानो व्यान एव च । इति । कुत्रास्य वृत्तिभेदः ? सुख-
नासाद्यधिष्ठिता वृत्तिः प्राणस्य, शृङ्गपावूपस्थाद्यधिष्ठिता वृत्ति-
रपानस्य, हृन्नाभिसर्वसन्ध्यधिष्ठिता वृत्तिरुदानस्य त्वगाद्य-
धिष्ठिता वृत्तिर्व्यानस्य । ननु वायुरपि सर्वप्राणिक्रिया-
कारकश्चलिष्णुश्चेतनः सन् निखिलं प्राणिनं प्रेरयति प्रकाश-
यते वा, किं पुनरेतदतिरिक्तं चैतन्यं पुरुषं मन्यसे, सत्यं, नैवात्र
विवक्षितव्यं किञ्चिदस्ति, श्रुतौ प्राणाद्यतिरिक्तपुरुषश्रवणात् ।
तथा हि श्रुतिः । “असङ्गोऽयं पुरुष इत्यादि । अथवा यदि प्राण
एव चेतनः स्यात् तदा सुषुप्तिगतस्य पुरुषस्य प्राणाशुत-
क्रमणस्य सुषुप्तौ प्राणविद्यमानतयापि जाग्रत्प्रत्यक्षज्ञानवत्
तत्र घटपटादिरवगच्छेत, ननु तदवगतिरस्ति करणोप-
मात् । यथा पुरस्वामी द्वाररक्षणे एकं दौवारिकं नियोज्य

अपरिवारो वह्निर्गच्छति तथा पुरुषः प्राणमात्रं रक्षयित्वा
आनन्दे विश्राम्यतीति मन्तव्यमिति ॥९०॥

ददानीं प्रकृतेः सत्त्वादिगुणालुक्ता कर्मणो निवर्त्तकं
निरूपयति ।

पञ्च कर्मात्मानः ॥११॥

कर्माणाम् आत्मा व्यावर्त्तकः निवर्त्तक इति यावत् । इतश्च
कर्माणाम् आत्मानः पञ्च अवगन्तव्याः चत्कारणं यमाभ्यास-
वैराग्यसमाधिप्रज्ञाः एता उत्पाद्याः पुरुषाणां निखिलक्रिया
निवर्त्तयन्ते । नचास्य कर्मा इत्यादि प्रमाणात् । क्रमेण तानाह,
अहिंसासत्यमस्तेयब्रह्मचर्यपरिग्रहाणां यमसंज्ञा । दीर्घकालनै-
रन्तर्यसद्विषयब्रह्मोऽभ्यासः । इहामुत्र भोगविरागो वैराग्यम् ।
मानसैकाग्रता समाधिः । सत्त्वपुरुषान्वयाज्ञानं प्रज्ञा । इति
पातञ्जले व्यासदेवेनैतद्विस्तारितम् ॥११॥

सम्प्रति पञ्चानाम् अविद्यानाम् अवान्तरभेदनिरूपणैः
सूत्रयति ।

पञ्चप्रव्या अविद्याः ॥१२॥

अत्र प्रव्यशब्दो ग्रन्थिः, तद्वत्यः अविद्याः पञ्च यथा रज्जुग्रन्थे-
र्दृढतया सहसा पुरुषस्तां मोक्तुं न शक्नोति तथा संसारग्रन्थे-
रतिशयतयापि । ताः कियत्यः अविद्याः ? अस्मिता-राग-द्वेषाभि-
निवेशाः यथासंख्यं तमो-मोह-महामोह-तामिस्रान्धतामिस्र-
संज्ञाः पञ्च स्युः । अनित्याणुचिदुःखेषु नित्यणुचिसुखाख्या
अविद्या अनात्मनि आत्मज्ञानात् ब्राह्मण एवाहम् इति

वृत्तिः । अस्मिता अभिमानरूपेति यावत्, धनं मे प्रियतरमिति वृत्तीरागरूपा, इदं नेष्टं विनाशित्वात् इति वृत्तिर्द्वैपरूपा जन्ममरणरूपवृत्तिरभिनिवेशः । तमोमोहयोरवृत्तिविधो भेदः, महाभोहस्य दशविधः, इतरयोर्द्वयोः षट्त्रिंशद्भेदाः, कारिकायामेतदेवमुक्तं “ भेदस्तमसोऽष्टविधो भोहस्य च दशविधो महाभोहः । तानि त्रींशदादशधा तथा भवत्यन्यतामिश्रः ” ॥ १२ ॥

तदेवं पञ्च विपरीतभेदानुक्ता अष्टाविंशतिप्रकारं रचयति ।

अष्टाविंशतिधाऽशक्तिः ॥ १३ ॥

अत्र प्रकारार्थे धाप्रत्ययः, अतः अष्टाविंशतिप्रकारा अशक्तिः अवगम्यते यस्माद्विद्यया वैचित्र्यरूपाणीति । सा कतिविधा ? उच्यते, इन्द्रियाभिघातात् यथासंख्यम् एकादशेन्द्रियाणां श्रोतृत्वङ्-नेत्र-रसना-नासा वाक्-पाणि-पाद-गुह्योपस्थ-मनसां बधिरता-कुण्ठताम्यता-जड़ता-ऽघ्रातता-भूकता-ऽकरणता-पङ्क्ततोदावर्त्तता-क्लृप्ततामत्तता-एता एकादशधा वर्त्तन्ते । एवं तुष्टिसिद्धीनां विपरीतानां सप्तदशविधेति समष्टिरूपेण एषा अष्टाविंशतिरसिद्धिः इन्द्रियाणामाधारत्वेऽपि बुद्धेर्वृत्तिरन्तर्गता नान्या तदुपादानादन्यत्र वृत्त्यनवकाशात् ॥ १३ ॥

इदानीं तुष्टिं परिगणयति ।

नवधा तुष्टिः ॥ १४ ॥

सा द्विविधा तुष्टिः, आध्यात्मिका बाह्याश्च प्रकृत्युपादानकाल-माग्याख्याः । आध्यात्मिकाश्चतस्रः विवेकसालात्कारं हि परिणाम-भेदं प्रकृतिरेव करोति, अहन्तु पूर्णः किं ध्यानादिना इत्यात्म-

चिन्तनात् शिष्यस्य येन तुष्टिरक्ष उच्यते, यतः प्रकृतिमात्रात्
विवेकी नास्ति प्रव्रज्यायां सा तुष्टिरेवालं ध्यानादिना, अत्रोपदेशे
या तुष्टिः सोपादानाख्या सलिलमिति । वज्रकालभपेक्ष्य समा-
धिना प्रव्रज्या भविष्यतीति तव व्यर्थं चपलतया, इत्युपदेशे वा
तुष्टिः सा कालाख्या मेघ इति । भाग्यवलादेव निर्विकल्पसमाधौ
या तुष्टिः सा भाग्याख्या दृष्टिरुच्यते । प्रकृतिमहदहङ्कार-
तन्मात्रस्थूलभूतेषु आत्मत्वेनाभिमन्यमानस्य बाह्याः पञ्च तुष्टयो
जायन्ते । अर्जनरक्षणनाशोपभोगहिंसानां विषयाणामुपरनात्
तास्तुष्टयो यथासंख्यं पारं—सुपारं—पारपारं—अनुत्तमान्धः—
उत्तमान्धः संज्ञाः । ये ये जना बाह्यां तुष्टिमाप्य हर्षिता भवेयुः
न ते तत्तज्ज्ञानिनः, अर्चितानामर्थानां वज्रलदुःखसाध्यत्वात् तत्र
तत्तज्ज्ञानाभावाच्च । तथा च “अर्थानामर्जने क्लेशस्तथैव परि-
क्षणे । रागे दुःखं व्यये दुःखं हिंसायां तुल्यमेव वा ॥” समष्टि-
रूपेण एषा नवधा तुष्टिर्भवति ।

सम्पृति प्रसक्तानां अविपरीतानां सिद्धीनां अवान्तर-
भेदान् गणयन् रचयति ।

अष्टधा सिद्धिः ॥१५॥

का पुनरसावष्टधा सिद्धिरिति विशेषेण निरूप्यते । सा द्विधा,
तिस्रो सुखाः, पञ्च गौणः । प्रमोदा मुदिता मोदमाना तिस्रो
सुखाः, अध्ययनं शब्दः ऊहः स्वजनप्राप्तिर्दानञ्च गौणः ।
तथा च यदधिदैवस्य दुःखस्य तिरोभावं कृत्वा ज्ञानमुत्पद्यते
तत् प्रमोदमाना सिद्धिः, यदधिभूतस्य दुःखस्य सेवादिनाप-
नयनं कृत्वा ज्ञानं तत् मुदिता सिद्धिः, सदाध्यात्मिकस्य दुःख-
स्यापनोदनानन्तरं ज्ञानं जन्यते तत् मोदमाना सिद्धिः । विधिवत्

सद्गुरोः सकाशात् आत्मविद्योपदेशः अध्ययनं, तत्प्रतिपाद्यः
शब्दः, गुरोरुपदेशं विना पूर्वविधासवशात् यत् तत्त्वस्य स्वयमूहनं
सा सिद्धिरुक्तः । स्वजनसन्निधिभावेण यदानन्दो लभ्यते तत्
सुहृत्प्राप्तिः, निताज्जाकनुप्रावगाहितचित्तेन विधिवत् यत् दानं
तत् दानसिद्धिरिति ।

इदानीं पञ्चविंशतितत्त्वेषु धर्मान्-विभजते ।

दश मूलिकार्थाः ॥१६॥

इतच्च एते मूलिका मूलीभूता अर्था विप्रया दश वेदितव्याः ।
यतः एतेषां पञ्चविंशतितत्त्वानां मध्ये एकैकस्मिन् पदार्थे यथा-
सम्भवमेते विप्रयाः तिष्ठन्ति, के ते कुत्र वा स्थिता इत्याह । प्रधान-
बलधिद्वत्य एकत्वमर्थवत्त्वपारार्थ्यञ्च उक्तम् । पुरुषानधिद्वत्य
अन्यता अकर्तृत्वं बलविधत्तञ्च, उभयमधिद्वत्य अस्तित्वं संयोग-
वियोगौ च । स्थूलसूक्ष्मशरीररूपेण स्थितिः । तथा च भोजवा-
र्त्तिके “प्रधानास्तित्वमेकत्वमर्थवत्त्वमथान्यता । पारार्थ्यञ्च तथा-
नैक्यं वियोगो योग एव च । शेषवृत्तिरकर्तृत्वं मौलिकार्थाः
स्मृता दश” इति ।

अधुना पञ्चविंशतितत्त्वानां धर्मानुक्ता सृष्टिप्रकारं
विवर्णयति ।

अनुग्रहः सर्गः ॥१७॥

अत्रानुग्रहः सहायः । अनुगृह्णातीत्यनुग्रहः स उत्पत्तिरिति ।
स च द्विप्रकारः, वासनारूपं सूक्ष्मशरीररूपञ्च ज्ञातुं शक्यते उभ-
योरविनाभावात् । नहि वासनान्तरेण लिङ्गशरीरमस्ति तथा
लिङ्गशरीरमन्तरेण वासना नास्ति बीजाङ्गरवदिति । ननु
एतेषां बुद्ध्यादिपदार्थानां अनादित्वात् कथं सर्ग आदिमानिति

मन्यते, सत्यं किन्तु अनादित्वेऽपि सुतरां वीक्षितरङ्गप्रवाह-
न्यायेन आविर्भावतिरोभावरूपः सर्गः इति सूचितम् ।

व्यष्टिरूपसर्गं विस्तारतो निरूप्यते ।

चतुर्दशविधो भूतसर्गः ॥१८॥

इतश्च चतुर्दशविधश्चतुर्दशप्रकारो निखिलभूतानां सगा
वेदितव्यः । यस्मात् सत्त्वरजस्तमसां वैषम्यावस्थायां स्वदेज-
अण्डज-उद्भिज्ज-जरायुजरूपेण वासनावशात् सर्वे प्राणिनः
आविर्भवन्ति । स च सर्गः अत्रान्तरभेदेन त्रिधा, दैवो मानुष-
स्तिर्यग्ग्योनयश्च । आद्योऽष्टविधः । द्वितीयः एकः । तृतीयः
पञ्चविधः । तान् प्रकारानाह, ब्राह्मप्राजापत्यैन्द्रगान्धर्व्ययज्ञ-
राक्षसपैशाचा इत्यष्टविधो दैवः सर्गः । मानुषचैकविधः । पशु-
मृगपक्षिसरीसृपस्यावरा इति तिर्यग्ग्योनयः । ननु कथं
चतुर्दशविधो भूतसर्गः घटादिभूतसर्गावलोकनात् न पञ्चभूता-
तिरिक्तानाम् उत्पत्तिमताम् अनवगमात् सर्वत्राप्येवमूहनीय-
मिति । स्यादेतत् नहि तेषां प्रागुक्तानां पदार्थानां ज्ञानं विना
बन्धनिवृत्तिरस्ति तस्यानादित्वादतः तत्स्वरूपं विवदिषुस्तत्त-
सूत्रमवतारयति ।

त्रिविधो बन्धः ॥१९॥

अत्र किं नाम बन्ध उपाधिनिमित्तो मिथ्याज्ञानकल्पितः
न पारमार्थिकः इति कियान् सः, प्राकृतिको वैकारिको दाक्षि-
णकश्च, एष त्रिविधो बन्धो वेदितव्यः । ततः क्रमेण तदनु-
वदति, तथाहि अष्टासु प्रकृतिषु परमार्थतत्त्वं मन्यमानाः समा-
धिना यासुपासते तेषां तासु सयः प्राकृतिको बन्धः । ये विकारे-

ध्विन्द्रियादिषु चैतन्यं मन्यमानाः तान्येव उपासते, तेषां तल्लयः वैकारिको बन्धः । ये संसारविमोहितचेतसः केवलं दक्षिणाद्यनकर्त्तृकलापं जानन्तः अश्वमेधादिरेव परमपुरुषार्थः नान्य इति मन्यमानाः कर्मफलम् अश्नन्ति तेषां दक्षिणको-
बन्धः, प्रतिनियतजन्ममरणानुगतत्वात् चक्रवदिति । तथा च श्रुतिः, “योनिमन्ये प्रपद्यन्ते शरीरत्वाय देहिनः । स्थाणु-
मन्येऽनुसंचान्ति यथाकर्म यथाश्रुतम्” ।

तस्मात् बन्धस्य अनादित्वेऽपि भूयो यत्नं न तन्निराशः कर्त्तव्यः इति विचिन्त्य सूत्रं पठति ।

त्रिविधो मोक्षः ॥२०॥

अत्र पुण्यपापपचयवशेन प्राणिनां त्रिविधो मोक्षः प्रवर्त्तते । कः पुनरसावित्याह, क्रममोक्षः विदेहकैवल्यं स्वरूपप्रतिष्ठा च । यस्य विषयानुरागिणः तत्त्वानुसन्धानं कुर्वतः जन्मान्तरे मोक्षः भविष्यति, स क्रममोक्षः, बहूनां जन्मनामन्ते ज्ञानवान् मां प्रपद्यते इत्यादि श्रुतेः । विषयविरक्तः सुखदुःखे समे कृत्वा इति यद् आनन्दं प्राप्नोति स विदेहकैवल्यम् “अपामसोमम् अमृता अभूम इत्यादि श्रुतेः । अनन्तानागतकालं व्याप्य स्वरूपे-
णावस्थानं स्वरूपप्रतिष्ठा न ह वै शरीरस्य प्रियाप्रिययोरपह-
तिरस्ति इत्यादि श्रुतेः पुनरपि बुद्धिसत्त्वेऽनभिसम्बन्धात् ॥२०॥

सम्प्रति प्रमाणलक्षणं तावन्नक्षयति ।

त्रिविधं प्रमाणम् ॥२१॥

अत्र प्रमीयते अनेनेति प्रमाणं प्रमां प्रति करणमिति यावत् ।

त्रिविधं प्रमाणं दृष्टमनुमानमाप्तवचनञ्च । बुद्धिर्यद्यद्वस्तु इन्द्रि-
यद्वारेण चित्तादात्मरूपेण विषयीकरोति तत् प्रत्यक्षं दृष्टं, देवं
पश्ये अहं सुखीत्यादि । अनुमानं त्रिविधं, पूर्ववत् शेषवत्
सामान्यतो दृष्टञ्च । यत्र कारणेन कार्यमनुमीयते तत् पूर्ववत् ।
यथा मेघोन्नत्या वृष्टिरिति । यत्र कार्येण कारणमनुमीयते
तत् शेषवत्, घटदर्शने परमाणादिरिति । यत्र ब्रज्यापूर्वकञ्च
अन्यत्र दृष्टस्य अन्यत्र दर्शनं सामान्यतो दृष्टं, यथा गृहे दृष्टस्य
देवदत्तस्य वह्निर्दर्शनेन गमनमनुमीयते । देवचक्षपतगमनुव्य-
वर्णाग्रमादिविभागहेतोः सर्वज्ञानाकरस्य वैदशास्त्रस्य अपौ-
रुषेयतया इदं सत् इदमसत् अयं घट इत्यादि वृद्धव्यवहार-
मूलम् आप्तवचनम् । अनेन त्रिविधेन प्रमाणेन प्रकृतिगुरुषयोः
पृथगवगतिः परमपुरुषार्थकारणमिति ।

तस्मादिदानीं एतान् पदार्थानुक्त्वा तदवबोधेन मुक्तिं साध-
यितुं संचेषेणानुवदिष्यन् सूत्रयति ।

एतत् सत्यक् ज्ञात्वा कृतकृत्यः स्यात् ।

न पुनस्त्रिविधेन दुःखेनानुभूयते ॥२२॥

एतत् सुगमम् । इह सत्यक् । ज्ञात्वा कृतकृत्यः स्याज्जन इति
शेषः, त्रिविधेन आध्यात्मिकादिदुःखेन नानुभूयते न संयुक्तो
भवति, तेषामत्यन्तलयत्वेन पुनरुत्पत्तप्रत्यभावात् ।

नरेन्द्रेण श्रिया पूर्णं सांख्यभाष्यं विभाषितम् ।

भूदेवेन सुदा शाके ब्रह्मधर्मादितीन्दुमे ॥

समाप्तोऽयं ग्रन्थः ।

११२५५

কাপিলভাষ্য ।

সংস্কৃত দর্শনের অনুবাদ, সমুদায় অংশ উত্তম হয় না বিধায় ছুরুহ স্থল পরিত্যাগ করিয়া তাৎপর্য-মাত্র বিদ্যানুরাগী মহোদয়গণের গোচরার্থ সন্নিবেশিত হইল । কিয়দ্দিনাবধি দর্শন সকল কোন্ সময়ে হইয়াছে, এতন্নির্ণয় করিতে সভ্যসমাজে মহাগোলযোগ হইতেছে । অনেক মহাত্মা ইহার অনেকবিধ মীমাংসা করিয়াছেন এবং করিতেছেন ; কিন্তু তাহাতে আমরা ভূপ্ৰীলাভ করিতে পারি নাই, যেহেতুক উপনিষদ্ ও দর্শনের মত মধ্যে মধ্যে সন্নিবেশিত হইয়াছে, ইহাতে বেদের পূর্ব দর্শনশাস্ত্র আবিষ্কৃত হইয়াছে, একথা বলিলে বেদের আধুনিকত্ব প্রমাণ হয় । সকল দর্শনপ্রণেতাই বেদের অপৌরুষেয়তা স্বীকার করিয়াছেন অতএব তাহার নির্ণয় করিতে হইলে, ভাবনায় মস্তিষ্ক শুষ্ক হয় ; পরন্তু এই মাত্র বলা যাইতে পারে যে, মহর্ষি কণাদ প্রথমে বৈশেষিক দর্শন প্রকাশ করিয়াছিলেন, তৎপরে মহর্ষি কপিল সাংখ্যদর্শন প্রকাশ করিয়াছেন, ইহা যুক্তি ও প্রমাণদ্বারা জ্ঞাত হওয়া যায় । “ন বরং ষট্পদার্থবাদিনঃ ” এই সাংখ্যসূত্র দ্বারা ষট্পদার্থবাদী কণাদমত পূর্ব প্রচারিত হইয়াছে এবং ষড়ধ্যায় সাংখ্যসূত্র দ্বারা কপিল ঋষি ষট্পদার্থবাদী কণাদ মতের ষট্পদার্থ

নিরাস করিয়াছেন ; ও পরমাণু সকল পদার্থের অবসান-স্থান, বৈশেষিক দর্শনকর্তা ইহা স্বীকার করিয়াছেন, ইহা যুক্তিসিদ্ধ নহে । যেহেতুক পরমাণুকে মূর্ত বলিলে তাহার নাশ হয়, যত মূর্ত পদার্থ দেখা যায় সমুদায়ই কালেতে বিনাশ প্রাপ্ত হইয়া থাকে । পরমাণু অমূর্ত বলিলে পরমাণুর সংযোগ হয় না ; কারণ নিরবয়ব সূক্ষ্ম পদার্থের সংযোগ কোন স্থলে দেখা যায় না । এই সকল পর্যালোচনা করিলে পদার্থতত্ত্ববিৎ মহোদয়গণ দর্শনশাস্ত্রের অগ্র পশ্চাৎ নির্ণয় করিতে সমর্থ হইবেন । এই অবনীমণ্ডলে তত্ত্বজ্ঞান ভিন্ন জীবগণের সুখের কারণ দেখা যাইতেছে না । সকল পদার্থই বিনাশী, ইহাতে অনুরাগ কেবল দুঃখের কারণ ভিন্ন আর কিছুই নহে, এতাবৎ বিবেচনায় অনেকেই অহম্মিশি তত্ত্বানুসন্ধানে নিযুক্ত ছিলেন । পরে আর্য্যজাতিকে উচ্চ পদবীতে অধিকৃত করণের মানসে মহর্ষি কণাদ পথদর্শকস্বরূপ বৈশেষিক দর্শন আবিষ্কার করিয়াছেন । ইহার অব্যবহিত পরে মহর্ষি কপিল সদোম কণাদ যত নিরাসে ত্রুতী হইয়া নিজ মত ব্যক্ত করিয়াছেন । ইহা উপরি উক্ত প্রমাণ ও যুক্তিদ্বারা অর্যৌক্তিক ও অপ্রামাণিক কথা যায় না । এইরূপে প্রকৃত দর্শনের অনুবাদে প্রবৃত্ত হওয়া গেল । ইহাতে পঞ্চবিংশতি সংখ্যক তত্ত্ব গণনা করার ইহাকে সাংখ্য দর্শন এবং কাপিল দর্শন কহে । তত্ত্বজ্ঞানেচ্ছু পঞ্চশিখা-

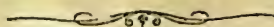
চার্য মহর্ষি নারায়ণাবতার কপিলের সমীপবর্তী হইলেন। নিগূঢ় তত্ত্ব ধারণ করা অতি স্বকঠিন বিধায় প্রথমে দ্বাবিংশতি সূত্রদ্বারা উপদেক্ষা পূজ্যপাদ কপিল উপদেশ প্রদানে প্রবৃত্ত হইলেন। যথা যথার্থ পদার্থের সংক্ষেপ শ্রবণ কর। আমি অষ্ট প্রকৃতি বলিতেছি, সে প্রকৃতি এই—মূল প্রকৃতি, মহৎ, অহঙ্কার, পঞ্চতন্মাত্র অর্থাৎ শব্দ-তন্মাত্র, স্পর্শ-তন্মাত্র, রূপ-তন্মাত্র, রস-তন্মাত্র, গন্ধ-তন্মাত্র। মূল প্রকৃতি ত্রিগুণাশ্রিতা অর্থাৎ সত্ত্ব রজ ও তমোগুণের সমানাবস্থা এবং জড়-জ্বিকা নিরবয়বা পরিণামরূপা নিত্য। তাহা হইতেই মহত্তত্ত্ব প্রকাশ পায়; কিন্তু প্রকৃতি কোন পদার্থ হইতে প্রকাশ হয় নাই। সমুদায় পদার্থ মূলপ্রকৃতির পরিণাম স্বরূপ। যেমন দধি ও শিশিরখণ্ড দুগ্ধ ও জলের বিকার বিশেষ, সেইরূপ সকল বস্তুই মূলপ্রকৃতির বিকার বিশেষ। মূল প্রকৃতি কার্যোতে বিকৃতি হইয়া থাকে। মহত্তত্ত্ব মূলপ্রকৃতি হইতে প্রকাশ পায়। ইহাকে বুদ্ধি-বিশেষ কহে, অর্থাৎ সকল পদার্থের নিশ্চায়িকা। তদ্বারা যাবদীয় পদার্থের কর্তব্যাকর্তব্যের নির্ণয় হয়। বুদ্ধির ধর্ম্ম আট প্রকার—ধর্ম্ম, জ্ঞান, বৈরাগ্য, ঐশ্বর্য্য, অধর্ম্ম, অজ্ঞান, অবৈরাগ্য, অনৈশ্বর্য্য; ইহার মধ্যে আদি চারিটি সাত্ত্বিক অর্থাৎ সত্ত্বগুণোদ্ভবা, অন্ত্য চারিটি তামস, অর্থাৎ তমোগুণোদ্ভবা। মহৎ হইতে অহঙ্কার জন্মে, ইহাকে অভিমান বলা

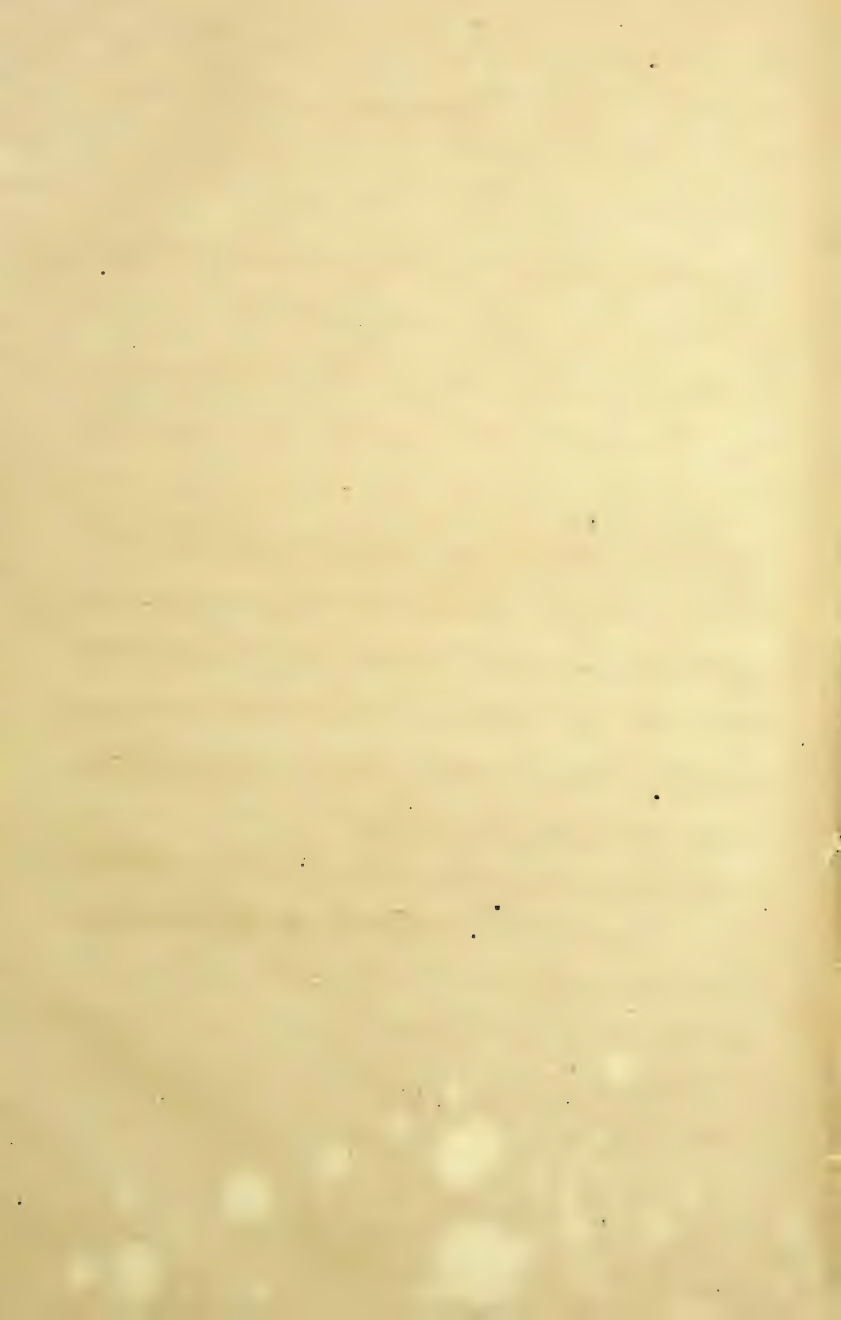
যায়। ‘আমি সুখী’ ‘আমার পুত্র’ ‘আমি সর্ববাংশে শ্রেষ্ঠ’ ইত্যাদি ব্যবহার কেবল অহঙ্কারের কার্য্য। অহঙ্কারের রাজসভাগ হইতে পঞ্চতন্মাত্র জন্মে, এ অতিসূক্ষ্ম পদার্থ ও আকাশাদি পঞ্চভূতের কারণ স্বরূপ। ইহা যোগী ও দেবলোকের অপ্রত্যক্ষ নহে। আমি ষোড়শ বিকার পদার্থ বলিতেছি। পঞ্চ ভূত, পঞ্চ জ্ঞানেন্দ্রিয়, পঞ্চ কর্মেন্দ্রিয় ও মন, এই ষোড়শ পদার্থকে বিকার বলে। ভূমি, জল, বায়ু, অগ্নি, ও আকাশকে যথাক্রমে পঞ্চভূত বলা যায়, এই পঞ্চভূত পঞ্চতন্মাত্র হইতে প্রকাশ হইয়াছে। চক্ষুঃ, শ্রোত্র, স্রাণ, রসনা, ভ্রুক্ এই পাঁচকে জ্ঞানেন্দ্রিয় ও অন্তরিন্দ্রিয় বলে এবং বাক্, পাণি, পাদ, পায়ু, উপস্থ এই পাঁচকে কর্মেন্দ্রিয় এবং বাহ্যেন্দ্রিয় কহে। মনকে সং-সারাত্মক উভয়েন্দ্রিয় নিয়ন্তা বলা বাইতে পারে। অহঙ্কারের মাদ্রিক অংশ হইতে উভয়েন্দ্রিয় এবং মনের আধিষ্ঠান হইয়াছে। যত কিছু পদার্থ, ষোড়শ বিকারের অন্তর্গত, ইহার আর বিকার নাই। সকল কার্য্য, সং ও সূক্ষ্ম-রূপে স্ব স্ব কারণে তিরোভূত হইয়া থাকে যথা “বী-জে অঙ্কুর,” “চুপ্তে ঘৃত” “স্তনে ক্ষীর” ইত্যাদি।

পুরুষ নিত্য চেতনস্বরূপ সর্ববিসাক্ষী সর্বসত্ত্বাদি গুণশূন্য দ্রষ্টা বিবেকী অকর্তা অনেকপ উদাসীন পদ-বাচ্য। ইনি কোন কার্য্য করেন না। সকলই প্রকৃতির কার্য্য, তথাপি “আমার পুত্র” “আমি সুখী” ইত্যাদি

জ্ঞান ভ্রমমাত্র ; ফলতঃ আত্মার স্থখ দুঃখ নাই ।
 প্রকৃত্যাদি সমুদায় পদার্থ ত্রি-বিধ তাপে তাপিত ।
 অর্থাৎ তাহা এই, মানসিক দুঃখ আধ্যাত্মিক পদবাচ্য ।
 বাহ্যিক জ্বরাদি রোগজন্য দুঃখকে আধিদৈবিক বলে ।
 উচ্চ স্থান হইতে পতনাদি জন্য দুঃখকে আধিভৌতিক
 বলে । এই ত্রিবিধ দুঃখ নিবৃত্তি কেবল প্রকৃতি পুরুষের
 পৃথক জ্ঞান ভিন্ন হয় না । প্রত্যক্ষ অনুমান ও বেদ-
 প্রমাণ ইহাকে ত্রি-বিধ প্রমাণ বলে । এই প্রমাণত্রয়
 দ্বারা “অয়ং পুরুষঃ” “ইয়ং প্রকৃতিঃ” ইত্যাদি জ্ঞান
 তত্ত্বজ্ঞান পদবাচ্য অর্থাৎ আমি পুরুষ নিত্যশুদ্ধঃ অমৃত-
 পানে প্রাসাদোপরি বাসে যেৰূপ স্থখী ধূলিশয্যায় ভিক্ষান্ন
 ভোজন করিয়া সেরূপ জ্ঞান, আমার বিকার নাই ।
 প্রকৃতি সকল কার্য্য করে, অয়স্কান্তমণি সন্নিধানে লৌহের
 যেমন স্বয়ং স্পন্দনশক্তি প্রকাশ পায়, তদ্রূপ পুরুষ
 সন্নিধানে জড়াত্মিকা প্রকৃতির উৎপাদনী শক্তি প্রকাশ
 হয় । গৃহকর্মে নিযুক্তা স্ত্রী পুরুষের ভোজন কাল পর্য্যন্ত
 ব্যাকুল হইয়া থাকে, পুরুষের ভোজনান্তর নিশ্চিন্তা হয় ।
 প্রকৃতি সেইরূপ অচেতনা হইলেও সকল পদার্থই তাহা
 হইতে উৎপন্ন হয় যথা “গোময়ে কীটাদির” উৎপত্তি
 হয় ।

সমাপ্ত ।





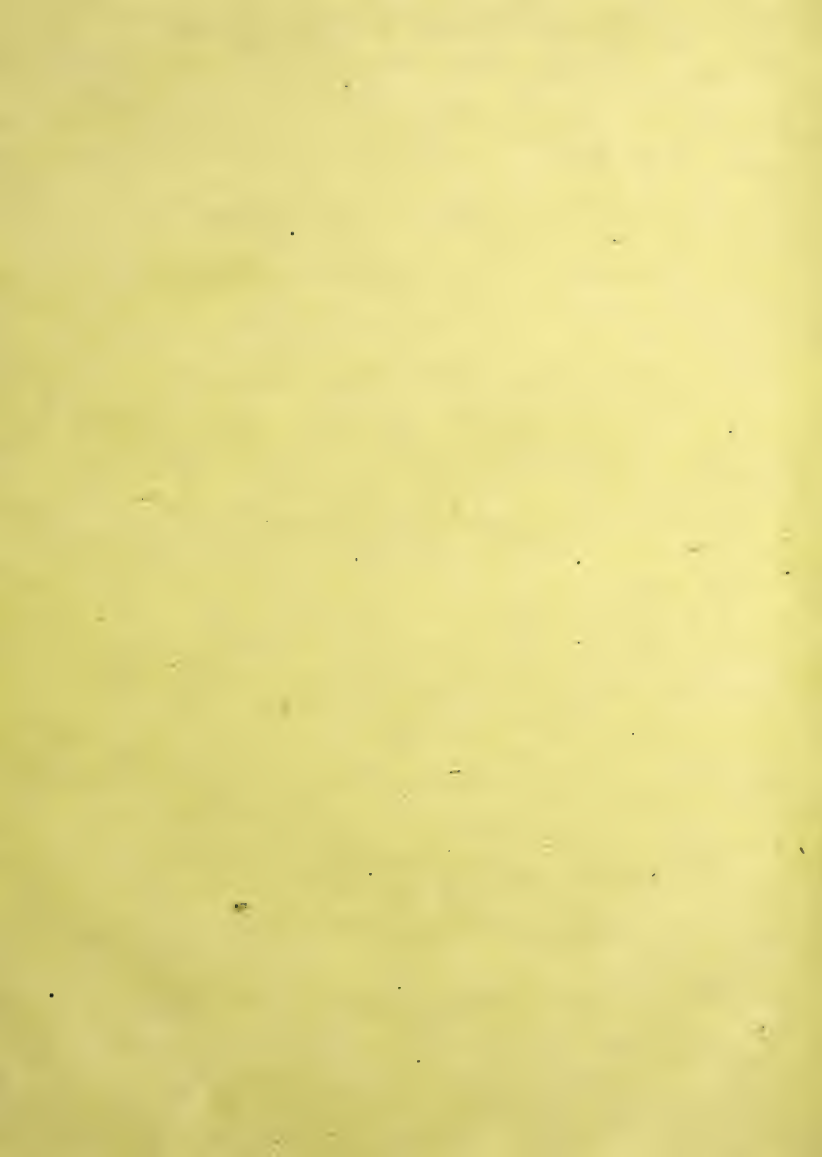
विज्ञापनम् ।

वाराणस्याममुष्यां बहुतरकालानुसन्धानैः काष्ठी-
लसूत्रमपि करतलमायातम्, इदानीं सनातन-
मतप्रकाशात्मकतया तत् भाष्यं रचितमस्माभिः,
नतु विद्वज्जनगणमनोरञ्जनाय निजयशोविस्ता-
राय च । यदि प्रचुरतरामृताशनादस्त्वाशनमतिवत्
कस्यचित् सदाशयस्य मतिरेतहर्षने तदा अम-
विरामो मदीयः सफलो भविष्यति । आथास्मिन्
नूतनरचने अमखेष्टद्विविच्य करणालवेन पञ्चमु-
चितं भवद्भिः प्रेरणीयं अस्माकमावेदनमेतदस्तु
सुधीरवरान्तिके निरन्तरम् अलमतिविस्तरेणेति ।

श्री नरेन्द्रनाथ शर्माः
इदानीं काशीनिवासिनः ।







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ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

SÁNKHYA-SÁRA ;
A TREATISE OF
SÁNKHYA PHILOSOPHY,
BY
VIJNANA BHIKSHU.

EDITED BY
FITZ-EDWARD HALL, D. C. L., Oxon.,
MEMBER OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETIES OF BENGAL AND PARIS, OF THE ROYAL
ASIATIC SOCIETY, OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY, OF
THE ORIENTAL SOCIETY OF GERMANY, AND
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PREFACE.*

Two systems of philosophy, attributed, respectively, to Kapila and to Patanjali, are designated, by the Hindus, as Sāṅkhya;† a term which common usage restricts, however,

* Together with the addition of much new matter, I here offer a substitute for my preface to the *Sāṅkhya-pravachana-bhāṣya*. My edition of that book is now out of print; and I have no intention of publishing another. Since writing the pages which introduced it, my views touching the Sāṅkhya have, owing to further study, undergone a very great change.

† The first system is known as *nirīś'wara*; the second, as *śeś'wara*. The following half-couplet, to this effect, is from the *Shad-dars'ana-samuchchaya*:

साङ्ख्य निरीश्वराः केचित् केचिदीश्वरदेवताः।

The Jainas claim to have their own Sāṅkhya, *Mīmāṃsā*, &c. *Mackenzie Collection*, Vol. II., p. xxxvi.

As explanatory of the ensuing extracts, it should be mentioned, that Kapila has hitherto generally been considered as the author of the *Sāṅkhya-pravachana*, and that it has been the universal custom to render *nirīś'wara* by "atheistic."

"Cependant, il n'est guère supposable que Colebrooke se soit trompé en disant que Kapila nie l'idée de Dieu. Il n'a fait que reproduire les accusations directes que l'Inde elle-même a portées contre lui; et, comme ces accusations incontestables ne sont pas justifiées pleinement par les slokas de la Kārikā, il reste que ce soient les Sôûtras qui les justifient. Dans aucun de ceux que nous avons traduits, cette déplorable doctrine ne s'est montrée positivement à découvert; mais je crois pouvoir affirmer, dès à présent, qu'elle est en effet dans quelques autres, comme l'affirment les commentateurs

to the former. Etymologically considered, *sāṅkhya* is im-

indiens et Colebrooke." M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire : *Premier Mémoire sur le Sāṅkhya*, pp. 271, 272.

Again, of Colebrooke as entertaining the view, that Kapila is "atheistic;" "Il l'avait empruntée lui-même aux commentateurs indiens." Id., *ibid.*, p. 5.

This is scarcely exact. Colebrooke, the last of men to condescend, save unavoidably, to statements in train, does much more than "simply reproduce" the charge of "atheism" against Kapila, "borrowing it from Indian commentators." He refers, by numbers, to several of what have been taken for Kapila's own aphorisms, as being implicitly "atheistic;" and he translates one of them, I., 92, by the words "There is no proof of God's existence." *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I., pp. 251, 252.

Alike in both the Sāṅkhyas, there is acknowledgment of a being superior to the gods. He is made up of an immaterial part, *puruṣa*, or "person," and of an *anta'karāṇa*, or "internal organ." His person is unintelligent; and, for his internal organ, by virtue of which he is intelligent, he is indebted to the promptuary of all matter, *prakṛiti*. Precisely such, it is taught, is the constitution of man, beasts, &c. Thus far both the Sāṅkhyas concur. But, according to Patanjali's, the Yoga, the being above spoken of, whom it calls *Is'wara*, has the attributes of omnipotence, omniscience, and eternalness; his material genesis being in the way of eternal and periodically recurrent emanation from *prakṛiti*. The *nirīś'wara* Sāṅkhya simply denies to any being,—even to its *Hiranyagarbha*,—the last of the attributes just enumerated. The reader is now prepared to decide, whether the doctrine ascribed to Kapila differs from the Yoga in such a manner as to justify the application to it of the epithet "atheistic;" and whether the Yoga, on the strength of its *Is'wara*, is entitled to the appellation of "theistic."

In the Sāṅkhyas, *puruṣa*, "person," and *ātman*, "spirit," are synonymes. All that is not matter is spirit; and, as embodied, it is found in whatever possesses life, vegetation included. *Jīva*, "soul," is any spirit, in its aspect of incorporation. The *Is'wara* of the Yoga has no body, and is not a *jīva*. The *Hiranyagarbha* of the other Sāṅkhya has a body, and therefore is a *jīva*.

diately allied to *sankhyá* ;* a word bearing the acceptation of

“ Person ” and “ soul,” it will have been observed, are here used in senses of accommodation. And so one has to use, in general, the terminology of our metaphysics and theology, when applied to express Hindu conceptions.

On the subject of repudiating I's'wara, see the *Sánkhyā-pravachana*, I., 92-99 ; III., 56, 57 ; V., 2—12, and 46 ; and VI., 64.

Even a limited inspection of Indian commentators on the Sánkhyā would have evinced to M. Saint-Hilaire, that they are, mostly, as delicate as he is himself, in respect of charging Kapila with the denial of I's'wara. See a subsequent note.

* M. Saint-Hilaire, in the opening words of his analysis of the Sánkhyā, confounds the paronymes *sankhyá* and *sánkhyā* : “ Le mot de Sánkhyā, qui est devenu le nom du système de Kapila, signifie nombre ; et, pris adjectivement, numéral. Il signifie encore, dans une acception assez voisine : calcul, supputation, jugement, raisonnement.” *Premier Mémoire*, &c., p. 19.

Dr. Röer also says : “ The term *Sánkhyā* has two meanings, enumeration and investigation.” *Lecture on the Sánkhyā Philosophy*, p. 8.

The word *sánkhyā*, as affording a variety of significations, is made the subject of a laborious pun, in the initial couplet of Bháskara Achárya's *Bíja-gaṇita*.

Cháritrasinha Gaṇi, a Jaina, in his gloss on Haribhadra Súri's *Shad-dars'ana-samuchchaya*, makes a statement, with reference to the origin of the word *sánkhyā*, which, as being altogether novel, deserves to be produced. While acknowledging the connexion of Kapila with the Sánkhyā, he avers, that the followers of that doctrine receive their appellation from the first doctor of their school, Sankha, or S'ankha. His words are : साङ्ख्यमिति कापिलदर्शनम् । आदिपुरुषनिमित्तेयं सङ्ख्या । And elsewhere : साङ्ख्य इति पुरुषनिमित्तेयं सङ्ख्या । सङ्ख्य इमे साङ्ख्याः । तालव्यो वा शकारः । शङ्खनामाऽऽदिपुरुषः ।

S'ankha, the lawgiver, is classed, with Kapila, as *támasa*, in the *Páshandotpatti* chapter of the *Padma-purána*, latter section.

For an account of the *Shad-dars'ana-samuchchaya*, I would refer the reader to my *Contribution towards an Index to the Bibliography of the Indian Philosophical Systems*. In that volume many particu-

“number,” and also that of “decision.”* But the time has

lars will be found, regarding books and authors, which appeared in my preface to the *Sāṅkhya-pravachana-bhāṣya*, but are here omitted.

* Colebrooke says: “A system of philosophy in which precision of reckoning is observed in the enumeration of its principles, is denominated *Sāṅkhya*; a term which has been understood to signify *numeral*, agreeably to the usual acceptation of *saṅkhyá*, number: and hence its analogy to the Pythagorean philosophy has been presumed. But the name may be taken to imply,” &c. *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I., p. 229.

Adverting to these words, M. Saint-Hilaire observes: “Colebrooke s’est laissé tromper par l’apparence et par une fausse analogie, en prononçant le nom de Pythagore à côté de celui de Kapila.” *Premier Mémoire*, &c., p. 19.

Again, *ibid.*, p. 20: “Si Colebrooke a eu tort de rapprocher le nom de Pythagore de celui du philosophe indien,” &c.

But Colebrooke, as, from his guarded and adversative mode of expression, is quite clear, delivers, in the preceding extract, neither his own opinions nor even opinions which, until the adduction of further evidence, he would be thought to accept. Professor Wilson—Oxford *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, Preface, p. xi,—cites, it is true, the words “and hence its analogy to the Pythagorean philosophy has been presumed,” and without comment as to the paternity of the surmise. It may have escaped him, that he had formerly written: “The first Indian school, the leading tenets of which are described by Mr. Colebrooke, is the *Sāṅkhya*; a term which has been understood to signify *numeral*, and which, therefore, perhaps suggested to Sir William Jones his comparison of it to the Pythagorean doctrine.” *Quarterly Oriental Magazine*, Vol. IV., pp. 11, 12: for September, 1825.

Colebrooke alludes, without doubt, to the following passage: “On the present occasion, it will be sufficient to say, that the oldest head of a sect whose entire work is preserved, was—according to some authors,—Kapila; not [?] the divine personage, a reputed grandson [son] of Brahmá, to whom Kṛishṇa compares himself in the *Gítá*, but a sage of his name, who invented the *Sāṅkhya*, or *Numeral*, philosophy; which Kṛishṇa himself appears to impugn, in his conversation with Arjuna; and which, as far as I can recollect it from a few

long passed by for ascertaining, beyond doubt, what was

original texts, resembled, in part, the metaphysics of Pythagoras, and, in part, the theology of Zeno." Sir William Jones's Works, Vol. I., pp. 163, 164: 4to ed. of 1799.

Sir William, at an earlier date, had pushed his hypothetical analogies much further than this. * "Of the Philosophical Schools it will be sufficient, here, to remark, that the first *Nyāya* seems analogous to the *Peripatetic*; the *second*, sometimes called *Vais'e-shika*, to the *Ionie*; the two *Mīmāṃsās*, of which the *second* is often distinguished by the name of *Vedānta*, to the *Platonic*; the first *Sāṅkhya*, to the *Italic*; and the *second*, or *Pātanjala*, to the *Stoic*, philosophy: so that Gautama [Gotama] corresponds with Aristotle; Kanāda, with Thales; Jaimini, with Socrates; Vyāsa, with Plato; Kapila, with Pythagoras; and Patanjali, with Zeno. But an accurate comparison between the *Grecian* and *Indian* Schools would require a considerable volume." *Ibid.*, Vol. I., pp. 360, 361.

Vijñāna Bhikshu, in the *Sāṅkhya-pravachana-bhāṣya*, explains *sāṅkhyā* to signify "the setting forth of spirit as distinct from *prakṛiti*:" सङ्ख्या सम्यग् विवेकेनाऽऽत्मकयनम्।

Raghunātha Tarkavāgīśa Bhaṭṭācārya makes it one with "consideration:" पञ्चविंशतितत्त्वानां सङ्ख्या विचारः। तस्यधिकृत्य ज्ञेयो ग्रन्थः साङ्ख्य इति साङ्ख्यपदव्युत्पत्तिः सङ्गच्छते। *Sāṅkhya-tattva-vilāsa*.

Deva Tīrtha Swāmin takes it to import "orderly enunciation:" कक्षात् साङ्ख्यमित्युच्यते। सम्यक् क्रमपूर्वकं ज्ञानं कथनं यस्यां सा सङ्ख्या क्रमपूर्वा विचारणा। यत् तस्यधिकृत्य ज्ञतं तस्मात् साङ्ख्यमित्युच्यते शास्त्रम्। *Sāṅkhya-taranga*.

According to a sacred text, adduced by S'ankara Ācārya, in his commentary on the *Vishṇu-sahasra-nāman*, *sāṅkhya* means "knowledge of the true nature of pure spirit." We read:

महर्षिः कपिलाचार्यः हतज्ञो मेदिनीपतिः।

महर्षिः कपिलाचार्य इति सविशेषणमेकं नाम महाशयाऽसाष्टमिचेति महर्षिः कृत्स्नस्य वेदस्य दर्शनात्। अन्ये तु वेदैकदेशदर्शनादपयः। कपिलस्यासौ साङ्ख्यस्य शुद्धात्मतत्त्वविज्ञानस्याऽऽचार्येति कपिलाचार्यः। महर्षिस्यासौ कपिलाचार्येति महर्षिकपिलाचार्यः।

शुद्धात्मतत्त्वविज्ञानं साङ्ख्यमित्यभिधीयते।

इति व्यासस्मृतेश्च। ऋषिं प्रसूतं कपिलं महान्तमिति श्रुतेः। सिद्धानां कपिलो मुनिरिति स्मृतेश्च।

originally intended by thus denominating the aforesaid schemes of speculation.

The *Mahābhārata*, XIII., 7006, is here annotated.

I had hoped to find in the legal institutes of Vyāsa the line cited above. Not being there, probably it is buried in some Purāṇa.

S'ankara's own definition is in these words: "The reflecting, that the *guṇas*,—goodness, passion, and darkness,—are objects of my perception; and that I, distinct from them, am spectator of their operations, eternal, heterogeneous from the *guṇas*, spirit." साह्यं नाम इमे सत्त्वरजस्तमांसि गुणा मम दृष्ट्या च हं तेभ्योऽन्यस्तद्वापारसाच्चिभूता नित्या गुणविलक्षण आत्मैति चिन्तनम् । *Gītā-bhāṣya*, XIII., 12.

How to translate *guṇa* here, I know not. On this term, I shall by and by remark.

The *Mahābhārata*, a higher authority than any as yet brought forward, associates *sāṅkhya*, very significantly, with *parisāṅkhyāna*, which seems to have the sense of "exhaustive enumeration:"

साह्यज्ञानं प्रवक्ष्यामि परिसह्यानदर्शनम् ।

XII., 11393.

Again :

साह्यदर्शनमेतावत् परिसह्यानदर्शनम् ।

सह्याः प्रकुर्वन्ते चैव प्रकृतिं च प्रचक्षते ॥

तत्त्वानि च चतुर्विंशत् परिसह्याय तत्त्वतः ।

साह्याः सह प्रकृत्या तु निस्तत्त्वः पञ्चविंशकः ॥

XII., 11409-10.

Part of this extract is quoted in the *Sāṅkhya-pravachana-bhāṣya*, but worded somewhat differently.

Adwaitānanda, in his *Brahma-vidyābhāṣana*, an expository work connected with the Aphorisms of the Vedānta, suggests, that the word *pañcaviṃśati*, adduced from the sacred writings as defining the number of the Sāṅkhya principles, may intend 20×5 instead of $20 + 5$. This conceit might be abundantly disproved. See the stanza last given, and the *Mahābhārata*, XII., *passim*, but, particularly, chapters 307, 308, 309.

चतुर्विधं साह्यं तत्त्वप्रमाणप्रकारसर्वात्मता । What can be the drift of this mysterious announcement? It occurs in Prithwīdhara Āchārya's *Ratna-kos'a*, near the end.

In the Upanishads, the *Bhagavad-gītā*, and other ancient Hindu books, we encounter, in combination, the doctrines which, after having been subjected to modifications that rendered them, as wholes, irreconcilable, were distinguished, at an uncertain period, into what have, for many ages, been styled the Sāṅkhya and the Vedānta.*

Though Kapila is held to have originated the distinctive tenets of the Sāṅkhya,† it is extremely questionable whether—

* It is, further, a great mistake to suppose, that the Sāṅkhya-yoga of the *Bhagavad-gītā* is a peculiar system of eclecticism, or of compromise, that had vogue contemporaneously with the Sāṅkhya and the Yoga as we now understand them. Quite unknown, in the twilight days of Kṛishṇa and Arjuna, were the distinctions which at present discriminate those systems. Kṛishṇa has much to say of Brahma: upon his predecessor, Kapila, in all probability the conception had not dawned. The idea, that Kapila denied Iś'wara, was, it is quite possible, merely inferred, long after his time, from the bare fact of his silence. Who can say that, when he lived, the notion of an Iś'wara had as yet been elaborated?

† In only a single text that I know of is the Sāṅkhya ascribed to Ś'iva. *Mahābhārata*, XII., 10388. At the same place, the Yoga also is said to have been originated by that divinity.

In the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, I., 3, 11, Kapila is spoken of as having only revived the Sāṅkhya. From the same work, IX., 8, 14, it appears, however, to be asserted, that he created it. The ensuing couplet, from the last section of the *Padma-purāṇa*, is to the same purpose:

चेतद्वीपपतिः साङ्ख्यप्रणेता सर्वसिद्धिराट् ।

विश्वप्रकाशितज्ञानयोगी लोहन्तसिख्वा ॥

Vishṇu-vyūha-bheda-varṇana chapter.

A Hindu would harmonize these discordant statements by assuming, that they point to passages in two several stages of the world's history.

A facile and potential solvent of all difficulties as to time, space, and individuals, is the transparently indolent dogma of cyclical renovations of cosmic events. These iterations admitting of an indefinite

even if he was an author,—the *Sāṅkhya-pravachana*, now current under his name, can be referred to him on tenable grounds. And, if this “Six Lectures,” at least as we possess it, is not of his composition, most assuredly neither is the *Tattva-samāsa*.* These works, it is observable, are nowhere cited

number of changes in particulars, anybody may, at last, be almost anybody else; and it thus becomes a very easy matter to make light, among other things, of ordinary chronological sequence.

Swapnes'wara, author of the *Kaumudī-prabhā*, acquainted as he was with the aphorisms of Panchas'ikha, attributes to him the “Sāṅkhya Aphorisms” also. He accounts for its bearing the title of *Kāpila*, by the circumstance, that Kapila initiated the Sāṅkhya tradition as set forth therein. By way of illustration, he notes the notorious appropriation to Manu of the code of laws set forth by Bhrigu. His meaning is, that Kapila only propounded the matter of the Aphorisms, of which the present shape is due to Panchas'ikha. He may, then, be supposed to lay to the account of humility the absence from Panchas'ikha's name, in the Sāṅkhya Aphorisms,—as the “Six Lectures” alone deserves to be called,—of the honorific title of *Āchārya*. Against this it might be argued, that a saint so lowly would be likely to mention, at least a few times, the name of the leading rabbi of his school. Panchas'ikha, as we shall see, is spoken of in two places in the *Sāṅkhya-pravachana*; Kapila, not at all. Swapnes'wara, it should be added, gives what is here repeated, as nothing but rumour. His words are : पञ्चशिखः सूत्रकार आसुरिशिष्यः । कापिलमिति प्रसिद्धिस्तु सन्प्रदायप्रवृत्तेः ऋगुपेक्षासंहितायामिव मनुसमाख्या ।

* Little as we can respect the allegations of Hindu writers on such a point as that before us, still it is curious to see what those allegations are.

The anonymous author of the *Sarvopakāriṇī* relates, as an ancient tradition, that Kapila the incarnation of Vishṇu composed the *Tattva-samāsa*, and that, in aftertimes, another Kapila, a manifestation of Fire, published the larger body of Sāṅkhya Aphorisms, of which the “Compendium of Principles” was the rudiment. The same tradition makes the doctrines of other, unnamed, philosophical schools, besides the Sāṅkhya, no less than the Six Lectures, to have sprung

by S'ankara Āchārya, by Vāchaspati Mis'ra, or by any other

from the *Tattwa-samāsa*. अथाऽत्राज्ञादिक्लेशकर्मवासनासमुद्रनिपतितान-
नाथदीनानुद्धिर्धौः परमकृशालुः स्वतःसिद्धतत्त्वज्ञानो महर्षिर्भिर्भगावान् कपिलो
द्वाविंशतिस्तुत्राण्युपादि वत् सूत्रनात् सूत्रमिति हि व्युत्पत्तिः । तत एतैः समस्त-
त्त्वानां सकलपठितन्वार्थानां सूत्रनं भवति । इतश्चेदं सकलसाङ्ख्यतीर्थमूलभूतं
तीर्थान्तराण्यं चैतत्प्रपञ्चमन्येव । सूत्रपडध्यायो तु वैद्यानरावतारभगवत्कपिल-
प्रणीता । इयं तु द्वाविंशतिस्तुत्रा तस्या अपि वाजभूता नारायणवतारमहर्षि-
भगवत्कपिलप्रणीतेति दृष्टाः ।

Vijñāna Bhikshu says, in his *Sāṅkhya-pravachana-bhāṣya* : तत्त्वसमासा-
ख्यस्तुत्रैः सहाऽस्याः पडध्यायाः पौनरुक्त्यमिति चेन् मैवं सङ्क्षेपवित्तरूपेणोभयोरप्य-
पौनरुक्त्यात् । अतएवास्याः पडध्याया योगदर्शनस्येव साङ्ख्यप्रवचनासङ्ज्ञा युक्ता । तत्त्व-
समासाख्यं हि वत् सङ्क्षिप्तं साङ्ख्यदर्शनं तस्यैव प्रकर्षणस्यां निर्वचनामिति । विशेष-
स्वर्थं यत् पडध्यायां तत्त्वसमासाख्योक्तार्थवित्तरमात्रं योगदर्शने त्वभ्यासभ्युपगमवा-
दप्रतिषिद्धस्यैवेत्यरस्य निरूपणेन न्यूनतापरिहारोऽपीति । “If it be alleged, that
the *Tattwa-samāsa* aphorisms are simply iterated in the Six Lectures,
the answer is, that it is not so : for there is no mere repetition between
the two ; inasmuch as they are, respectively, concise and expanded.
Hence, the appellation of *Sāṅkhya-pravachana* is suitable to the
Six Lectures, in like manner as it is to the Institute of the Yoga.
The former embraces precisely a detailed exposition of the *Tattwa-
samāsa*, the shorter *Sāṅkhya* Institute. There is this difference,
however ; that the Six Lectures only expands the subject-matter of
the *Tattwa-samāsa* ; whereas the Institute of the Yoga avoids *their*
seeming deficiency, by *expressly* recognizing I's'wara, whom both *the*
other works, by concession for sake of argument, deny.”

Our commentator, further on, grows more confident ; passing from
the language of assumption, as it were, to that of positive assertion :

सङ्क्षिप्तसाङ्ख्यसूत्राणामर्थव्याञ्च प्रपञ्चनात् ।

शास्त्रं योगवद्वेदं साङ्ख्यप्रवचनाभिधम् ॥

“This Institute, equally with that of the Yoga, as being a devel-
opment of the substance of the shorter *Sāṅkhya* Aphorisms, is
designated *Sāṅkhya-pravachana*, or, ‘*Explication of the Sāṅkhya*’.”

I am aware, that this couplet is susceptible of another construc-
tion ; but that here put upon it is unforced, and, besides, accords with
the sense of the passage from the *Sarvopakārinī*. More than this,
if the *Sāṅkhya* Aphorisms are called *Sāṅkhya-pravachana*, as being

writer of considerable antiquity, or even in the *Sarva-dars'ana-*

an expansion, it is reasonable to believe, that Vijnána designed to explain why the Yoga Aphorisms also are so designated.

Colebrooke, having in view a portion, if not all, of the foregoing extracts, writes as follows: "It appears, from the preface of the *Kapila-bhāṣya*, that a more compendious tract, in the same form of *sūtras*, or aphorisms, bears the title of *Tattva-samāsa*, and is ascribed to the same author, Kapila. The scholiast intimates, that both are of equal authority, and in no respect discordant; one being a summary of the greater work, or else this an amplification of the conciser one. The latter was probably the case; for there is much repetition in the *Sāṅkhya-pravachana*.

"If the authority of the scholiast of Kapila may be trusted, the *Tattva-samāsa* is the proper text of the *Sāṅkhya*; and its doctrine is more fully, but separately, set forth by the two ampler treatises entitled *Sāṅkhya-pravachana*, which contain a fuller exposition of what had been there succinctly delivered." *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I., pp. 231, 232.

Dr. Rörer,—*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, for 1851, p. 402, note,—after citing the latter of the paragraphs given above, unaccountably adds: "But this is a misapprehension: the scholiast does only say 'they are of equal authority, one being a summary of the greater work, or else this an amplification of the conciser one.'" On the contrary, as will have been seen, the scholiast allows no such alternative, and is responsible for only the second member of it. Colebrooke, to be sure, has made out Vijnána to be self-contradictory. At the same time, the clause to which Dr. Rörer excepts is almost a literal translation of the scholiast's own words.

M. Saint-Hilaire says, speaking of the *Sāṅkhya Aphorisms*: "Ce traité, quoique assez court, a été abrégé, dit-on, par Kapila, sous le titre de *Tattva Samāsa*, c'est-à-dire, réduction substantielle du *Sāṅkhya*. Nous ne connaissons ce dernier ouvrage que par les citations qu'en ont faites les commentateurs, et qu'a répétées Colebrooke d'après eux (*Essays*, tome I., p. 231)." *Premier Mémoire*, &c., p. 5

Whence did the writer learn, for certain, that Kapila abridged the *Sāṅkhya-pravachana*? Again, the phrase "réduction substantielle"

sangraha, which is dated so late as the fourteenth century ; and

scarcely answers to *Tattwa-samāsa*, and only on the theory of such an abridgment. Moreover, Colebrooke would be explored in vain for a single quotation from the smaller treatise.

Vijñāna plainly rests the validity of adjudging the title of *Sāṅkhya-pravachana* to the Six Lectures, on the ground, that it is an expansion of the *Tattwa-samāsa* ; this being the embryo of also another collection of aphorisms called *Sāṅkhya-pravachana*, that belonging to the Yoga. But this derivation of the Yoga Aphorisms is unestablished, save by Vijñāna's own word. It may be suspected, that his sole foundation of fact is, the common application of the term *Sāṅkhya* to the system called from Kapila and to that of the Yoga.

Colebrooke—*Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I., p. 232,—is disposed to think, that the title of *Sāṅkhya-pravachana*, in its application to the *Sāṅkhya* Aphorisms, is borrowed. For my part, I have little doubt, that one of the original borrowers was Vijñāna Bhikshu. Except in the writings of that author, and of his followers, I have nowhere met with the employment of *Sāṅkhya-pravachana*, otherwise than to name the Yoga Aphorisms, but in the postscript to Āniruddha's commentary, and in that to its abridgment by Vedānti Mahādeva. But the epigraphs to Indian manuscripts are known to be, so generally, the work of copyists, that the adverse evidence of these two apparent exceptions may, very allowably, be neglected.

With regard to the meaning of the title *Sāṅkhya-pravachana*, M. Saint-Hilaire could not have done better than consult Vijñāna, whose explanation of it he seems, however, to be unacquainted with. At p. 5 of his *Premier Mémoire*, &c., he translates those words by “Préface ou Introduction au Sāṅkhya.” However speculative Vijñāna may be in what he says of the germinal character of the *Tattwa-samāsa*, there is no ground to mistrust his etymological analysis of the word *pravachana*, as here used. In one place, as we have seen, he explains it by *prakarshana nirvachanam*, “detailed exposition ;” and, in another, by *prapanchana*, “development,” or “explication.” In the *Pātanjala-bhāṣhya-vārttika*, he defines it, again as a member of *Sāṅkhya-pravachana*,—the proper name, according to Vyāsa, of the Yoga Aphorisms,—by words expressing “detailed statement :”
साङ्ख्यप्रवचन इति । साङ्ख्यशास्त्रस्यैव प्रकर्षेण वचनं साङ्ख्यप्रवचनम् । Nāgoji

their style, moreover, exhibits scarcely a perceptible trace of archaism. Indeed, the larger collection of sentences derived to us as, putatively, Kapila's, whatever its more general source, may be suspected of occasional obligation to the *Kārikās* of Īś'warakrishṇa.*

Bhaṭṭa, in his *Pātanjala-sūtra-vṛtti-bhāṣhya-cheḥhāyā-ryākhyā*, silently transcribes Vijnāna's derivation: एतस्य साहस्रप्रवचनत्वं तु साहस्रोक्तस्यैव प्रकर्षेण वचनात्।

* I., 124, of the *Sāṅkhya-pravachana* runs thus:

हेतुसदनित्यस्यपि सन्निधिसनेकसाधितं लिङ्गम्।

This, to a syllable, is the first half of the tenth *Kārikā*.

I., 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, are as follows: संहतपरार्थत्वात्। त्रिगुणादिविपर्ययात्। अधिष्ठानाच्च चेति। भोक्तृभावात्। कैवल्यार्थं प्रकृतेः। The seventeenth *Kārikā* is read:

सङ्घातपरार्थत्वात् त्रिगुणादिविपर्ययादधिष्ठानात्।

पुरुषोऽसि भोक्तृभावात् कैवल्यार्थं प्रकृतेः॥

There is nothing to choose between संहत and सङ्घात, "what is combined" and "combination." Aniruddha has प्रकृतेः. Vijnāna exchanges it for प्रकृतेः.

II., 18, further, is half a couplet:

सात्त्विकसेकादशकं प्रवर्तते वैकृताद्वक्त्रारान्।

The twenty-fifth *Kārikā* differs only in exhibiting सात्त्विक एकादशकः; the sense remaining unaffected.

II., 31, once more, is metrical, and is the same as the last half of the twenty-ninth *Kārikā*:

सामान्यकरणवृत्तिः प्राणायामा वायवः पञ्च।

III., 48, 49, 50, 47, are as follows: ऊर्ध्वं सत्त्वविशाला। तमोविशाला मूलतः। मध्ये रजोविशाला। आब्रह्मसम्बन्धेन तत्कृते सृष्टिराविदेकात्। And the fifty-fourth *Kārikā* is

ऊर्ध्वं सत्त्वविशालस्तमोविशालस्य मूलतः सर्गः।

मध्ये रजोविशालो ब्रह्मादिसम्बन्धेनः॥

Snatches of verse, and now and then whole verses, checquer, independently of design, the prose of Sanskrit writers, as of writers in most languages. But it should be borne in mind, that the *Sāṅkhya-pravachana* is of very limited compass, and that the *āryā* is a measure of no little complexity. Should it be argued, with respect to the

By the prevailing suffrage of mythology, Kapila* of the

immeticalness of the tenth *Káriká*, that Is'warakrishṇa there consented to a prosodial blemish, rather than deviate from the very words of an aphorism, one may answer, that, in several places where we can trace nothing like intimate dependence, on his part, upon the aphorisms which have come down to us, he is chargeable with the same sort of laxity. Instances may be seen in the fourth, seventh, ninth, twenty-sixth, and seventieth of the *Kárikás*.

Of the genuineness of the three final *Kárikás* I have grave doubt. From the seventy-second we gather nothing more than that the treatise attributed to Is'warakrishṇa summarizes, with some reservations, the substance of the sixty *Sáṅkhya* fundamentals. It seems not altogether unlikely, that Is'warakrishṇa may have digested into stanzas the material parts of an earlier set of *Sáṅkhya* aphorisms; that those aphorisms were long-neglected, and parts of them got lost; and that the person who integrated the remnants, to make up the *Sáṅkhya-pravachana*, availed himself of Is'warakrishṇa's performance.

* Professor Wilson, reviewing Colebrooke, once wrote as follows: "The founder of the *Sáṅkhya* philosophy is named Kapila; who, as one of the seven great *Rishis*, is one of the sons of Brahmá. There are other accounts of his origin; but none more satisfactory." *Quarterly Oriental Magazine*, for Sept., 1825; p. 12. That Kapila is any where styled "one of the seven great *Rishis*" needs confirmation, for all the emphasis with which other accounts of him are thus discredited. Nothing of this is to be found in the *Translation of the Vishṇu-puráṇa*. Colebrooke—*Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I., p. 229, refers, mistakingly, to Gaudapáda, in proof of Kapila's being ranked as "one of the seven great *Rishis*." The citation runs thus:

एते ब्रह्मणः पुत्राः सप्त प्रोक्ता महर्षयः ।

"These seven sons of Brahmá were called great *Rishis*."

The more ordinary *mánasa*, or mind-born, sons of Brahmá vary, as specified in different *Puráṇas*, from seven to more than twice that number; "but," as Professor Wilson remarks, "the variations are of the nature of additions made to an apparently original enumeration of but seven, whose names generally recur." *Translation of the Vishṇu-puráṇa*, p. 48, note 2. One such group is made up of Marichi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu and Vasishṭha: the

Sáṅkhya is held to have been a son of the god Brahmá:

well-known "seven Rishis." *Mahābhārata*, XII., 7570 and 13075. This list is modified, in the same book of the *Mahābhārata*, 7534-5, by the substitution of Dakṣha for Vasishṭha; and, at 13040, by the addition of Manu: the tale being thus increased to eight. But, however amplified by Paurāṇika liberality, it is not this catalogue of Brahmá's mind-born progeny that is to furnish us with Kapila.

Incidentally, the *manas*, or mind, is not located, in Hindu opinion, in the brain, as Mr. J. C. Thomson imagines. See his *Bhagavad-gītā*, p. 68, notes 4 and 7. It is thought to be in the *hṛidaya*, or breast;—not heart, as *hṛidaya* is commonly rendered.

Another company of kindred emanation likewise comprehends seven individuals. In the *Mahābhārata*, XII., 13078-9, they are said to be Sana, Sanatsujāta, Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanatkumāra, Kapila, and Sanātana. In the passage quoted, in all probability from some Purāṇa, near the commencement of Gaudapāda's commentary on the *Sáṅkhya-kārikā*, Kapila still appears, but as introducing several accredited Sáṅkhya doctors, to the extrusion of as many of his former associates; the roll now standing thus: Sanaka, Sananda, Sanātana, Āsuri, Kapila, Voḍhu, and Panchas'ikha. In the *tarpaṇa*, or satisfaction-service, of at least one school of the Veda, that of Mādhyandina, the same persons are invoked, and in the same order, except that the name of Āsuri and Kapila are transposed. See Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I., p. 144. In the *Padma-purāṇa*, latter section, *Vishṇu-vyūha-bheda-varṇana* chapter, 14, 15, among other changes, Kapila himself makes way for another; the set now consisting of Sanaka, Sananda, Sanātana, Sanatkumāra, Jāta, Voḍhu, and Panchas'ikha. See the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XI., p. 99. The *Kūrma-purāṇa*, prior section, VII., 18, 19, with additional alterations, reduces the seven to five: Sanaka, Sanātana, Sanandana, Rūrú, (?) and Sanatkumāra; whom it characterizes as great Yogins. The first three and the last of these five hold, apparently, peculiar eminence in the family of Brahmá; since from them, according to Gaudapāda on the forty-third *Kārikā*, originated, severally, virtue, knowledge, dispassion, and irresistible will. The names of these four occur, also, unaccompanied, as if they were to be regarded as representative, at III., 12, 3, of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*.

but he is likewise described, on several occasions, as an

Sananda and Sanandana are, doubtless, prosodial varieties of the same name; and Játa seems to be put, by metrical licence, for Sanatsujáta.

In the *Kárma-purána*, latter section, V., 18, parts of the two classes of Brahmá's mental sons, several new members being added to the first, are named together, thus: Sanatkumára, Sanaka, Bhṛigu, Sanátana, Sanandana, Rudra, Angiras, Vámadeva, S'ukra, Atri, Kapila, and Maríchi. But it is worthy of observation, that this *Purána* plainly distinguishes the second class, as to origin, from the first. What is evidently intended for the first class is detailed, at VII., 35—39, of the former section, as made up of Daksha, Maríchi, Angiras, Bhṛigu, Atri, Dharma, Sankalpa, Pulastya, Pulaha, Krātu, and Vasishtḥa; and the generation of these persons, as there given, is very different from what it is in any of the accounts rendered by Professor Wilson. See *Translation of the Vishnu-purána*, p. 50, note. For instance, the first and the last four are derived, respectively, from Brahmá's *prána*, *udána*, *vyána*, *apána*, and *samána*. See, for these terms, Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I., pp. 356 and 374; also the Oxford *Sánkhya-káriká*, p. 103. At X., 84, of the *Kárma-purána*, latter section, the whole eleven are denominated Bráhmas; and Brahmá is stated to have created them by his power as a Yogin. See, also, *Translation of the Vishnu-purána*, p. 49.

Further particulars of interest occur at X., 122—125, of the latter section of the *Kárma-purána*. Sanatkumára is there said to have instructed Samvarta; and he, Satyavrata: Sanandana, Pulaha; and he, Gautama: Angiras, Bharadwája: Kapila, Jaigíshavya and Panchas'ikha: Sanaka, Parás'ara; and he, Válmíki. This *Purána* is stated, at its conclusion, to have been transmitted from Brahmá as follows: Brahmá communicated it to Sanaka and Sanatkumára; Sanaka, to Devala; Devala, to Panchas'ikha; and Sanatkumára, to Vyása.

There is, clearly, no countenance, in the analogy of the Hindu hagiogony, for the else plausible surmise, that a complete history of the *mánasa* sons of Brahmá might, if recoverable, possibly go to show, that the epithet by which they are known may originally have borne a less mysterious signification than that of mind-born. Its intention

incorporation of Vishṇu.* Another account makes him to have been a son of Kardama;† still another gives him Dharma

could never have been to discriminate the literate portion of the Brahmanidae from their less learned kinsmen.

As the mind, in the Purāṇas, is constituted of matter, mental offspring are not to be looked upon as ethereal. Such, at least, is the Hindu conclusion.

* *Mahābhārata*, III., 1896 and 8880. *Rāmāyaṇa*, I., 41, 2—4 and 25. At I., 41, 2—4, Kapila's destruction of the sons of Sagara is predicted. *Padma-purāṇa*, latter section, *Vishṇu-eyāha-bheda-varṇana* chapter. *Translation of the Vishṇu-purāṇa*, p. 377. *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, I., 3, 11; where Kapila stands fifth of the twenty-four incarnations of Vishṇu. See, also, at p. 5 *supra*, the verse from the *Mahābhārata*, XIII., 7006, with S'ankara Āchārya's commentary. See, further, in a coming note on Asuri, a passage from Vyāsa's *Pātanjala-bhāṣya*. The commentators on that work, as Vāchaspati Miśra, Viṣṇuāna Bhikṣu, and Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa, understand the word *ādi-vidvān*, or "primeval sage," to mean, there, Vishṇu.

Schlegel, in his note on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, I., 41, 3, remarks: "Do hoc Vishnūs cognomine et munere non habeo quod expromam. Vix opus est monere plane hinc alienum est *Kapilum*, philosophiae rationalis (*sāṅkhya*) auctorem; quamvis et hunc discipuli nimis ambitiosi numinis plenum, imo ipsum in mortali corpore praesentem Vishṇum fuisse iactaverint. Quam opinionem innuit auctor *Bhagavad-gītāe*, LECT. X., 26."

It must now appear, that the notion which Schlegel dismisses so peremptorily, is much better fortified by old report than he apprehended.

† *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, II., 7, 3; and III., 33, 1. The birth of the sage, and of his nine sisters, is there said to have taken place in the house of Kardama, the husband of Devahūti, who is called Kapila's mother. Kapila's father, according to this account, must be Kardama; as there is no hint of anything like a miraculous conception. Kapila, as thus described, is, nevertheless, regarded, by some, as having afterwards become an incarnation of Vishṇu. Kardama, if not one of Brahmā's mind-born sons, was, at all events, a *prajāpati*, or "patriarch." *Translation of the Vishṇu-purāṇa*, p. 50, note.

and Hinsá for parents ;* and, again, he is identified with one

Elsewhere, however, it is denied, that Kapila was son of Kardama by Devahúti ; another and later wife of the patriarch, of unspecified name, being held for the sage's mother. As for Devahúti, she is represented as the daughter, not of Manu Syáyambhuva,—as is ordinarily declared,—but of Trinabindu. The original of these statements is expressed in the following words :

धर्मदत्त उवाच ।
जयस्य विजयस्यैव दिव्योद्भाःस्तौ सया द्रुते ।
किन्तु ताभ्यां पुरा चौर्यं यस्मात् तद्रूपधारिणौ ॥ १ ॥
गणवचतुः ।
तृणविन्दोस्तु कन्यायां देवहत्यां पुरा द्विज ।
कर्दमस्य तु दृष्ट्वैव पुत्रौ द्वौ सम्भूवतुः ॥ २ ॥
ज्येष्ठो जयः कनिष्ठोऽभूद् विजयस्यैत नासतः ।
अन्यस्यासम्भवत् पयात् कपिलो योगधर्मवित् ॥ ३ ॥

Padma-purāṇa, Pātāla-khaṇḍa, 97th chapter.

In Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I., p. 230, Devadúti is, of course, a misprint for Devahúti. Yet Professor Lassen has adopted the former reading. *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I., p. 832.

* According to the *Vámana-purāṇa*, LVI., 69—73, Dharma and Hinsá had eight sons : Sanatkumára, Sanátana, Sanaka, Sanandana, Kapila, Voḍhu, Ásuri, and Panchas'ikha. The first four were versed in the Yoga ; and the rest were proficient in the Sánkhyā. The passage, as I have seen it, is evidently very corrupt. I give it without any suggestions of amendment :

धर्मस्य भार्या हिंसाख्या तस्यां पुत्रचतुष्टयम् ।
सम्प्राप्तं मुनिशार्दूलं योगशास्त्रविचारकम् ॥
ज्येष्ठः सनत्कुमारोऽभूद् द्वितीयश्च सनातनः ।
तृतीयः सनको नाम चतुर्थश्च सनन्दनः ॥
साक्ष्यवेत्तारमपरं कपिलं बोद्धुमासुरिम् ॥
दृष्ट्वा पञ्चशिखं ज्येष्ठं योगयुक्तं तपोनिधिम् ॥
तांस्तद्योगं न ते ददुर्न्यायांसेऽपि कनीयसाम् ।
सानुसुहृन्महायोगं कपिलादीनुपासतः ॥
सनत्कुमारस्याऽभ्येत्य ब्रह्माणं कमलोद्भवम् ।

of the Agnis, or Fires.* Lastly, it is affirmed, that there have been two Kapilas: the first, an embodiment of Vishnu; the

अगच्छद् योगविज्ञानं तस्माच्च प्रजापतिः ।

ज्ञानयोगं न ते ददुर्च्यायांसोऽपि कनीयसाम् ॥

The first three of these stanzas are adduced in the *S'abda-kalpa-druma*, pp. 1831—32; where they are erroneously said to be from the fiftieth chapter of the *Vāmana-purāṇa*.

* शुक्लकृष्णगतिर्देवो यो विशति ऊताशनम् ।

अकल्पायः कल्पयाणां कर्ता क्रोधान्नितस्तु सः ॥

कपिलं परमर्षिं च यं प्राङ्मनसः सदा ।

अग्निः स कपिलो नाम साङ्ख्ययोगप्रवर्तकः ॥

Mahābhārata, III., 14196—7.

The last line of these verses is cited by Vijnāna, near the conclusion of his *Sāṅkhya-pravachana-bhāṣya*. But he rejects, with indignation, the idea, that Kapila is therein identified with Fire. It is simply meant, he says, that Kapila was endowed with the potency of fire; and he supports his interpretation by the aid of analogy, with some ingenuity. Of there having been two Kapilas, he will hear nothing.

In his version of it, the line he quotes is so phrased, as to give Kapila the authorship of the Sāṅkhya only, and not of the Yoga likewise:

अग्निः स कपिलो नाम साङ्ख्यशास्त्रप्रवर्तकः ।

Professor Wilson, writing of this text, of whose respectable origin he was uncertified, pronounces, touching the identity it authenticates, that "there does not appear to be any good authority for the notion," and adds, immediately afterwards: "*Kapila* is a synonyme of fire; as it is of a brown, dusky, or tawny, colour; and this may have given rise to the idea of Agni and the sage being the same." Oxford *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*, p. 188. See, also, Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I., p. 230. But it seems just as likely, that the notion owed its origin to the fabled combustion, by Kapila, of the sons of Sagara. *Mahābhārata*, III., 8881. Also see the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. III., pp. 349, 350; and Vol. VI., p. 478.

For Colonel Wilford's wild speculations, in which he makes Kapila one with Enoch, *vide ibid.*, Vol. VI., pp. 473-4.

other, the igneous principle in corporeal disguise.* It must

* See the reference to the *Sarvopakārinī*, in the foot-note at p. 8, *supra*.

S'ankara Āchārya, in the *S'āraka-mimāṃsā-bhāṣya*, I., 2, 1, also declares for two Kapilas. Implicitly following the *Rāmāyaṇa*, he considers the Sāgaracide Kapila to be an incarnation of Vāsudeva, or Viṣṇu; but he denies the origination, or revival, by him, of the Sāṅkhya philosophy. It is in another Kapila, on whom he forbears to expatiate, that he recognizes its inventor. The *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, IX., 8, 13, insists, that this Kapila could not, with his benevolent nature, have slain the Sagaridæ intentionally. Yet it makes no doubt, that they were destroyed by fire issuing from the body of the incensed ascetic, independently of his volition.

S'ankara Āchārya, commenting on the word Kapila in the *S'wetāś'watara-upanishad*, V., 2, proposes two interpretations of it. By one of them it is violently made to denote, as a lame synonyme, Hiranyagarbha. Otherwise, since primogeniture among created beings is found averred of both Kapila and Hiranyagarbha, they are, to save scriptural consistency, concluded to be one and the same. On the other interpretation, the person named in the Upanishad is Kapila of the Sāṅkhya, a partial incarnation of Viṣṇu. For his character as such, some unnamed Purāṇa is adduced. S'ankara adds, that the other Kapila is celebrated in the *Muṇḍaka-upanishad*. This statement is, however, made inadvertently; since no mention of him occurs there. S'ankara probably quoted, after the ordinary reckless Indian fashion, from memory. Dr. Röer has somewhat misrepresented S'ankara, in making him cite suicidally the Purāṇa above referred to. S'ankara avowedly cites it, not to corroborate the first identification of Kapila, but to elucidate the second. Neither, in that quotation, is Kapila, "to praise him," "identified with Hiranyagarbha." See the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Vol. XV., p. 62.

It may be observed, generally, that, in conformity with Hindu usage, none but the predilective object of one's idolatry is glorified as a plenary incarnation.

Kapila, in the *Mahādeva-sahasra-nāma-stotra*, *Mahābhārata*, XIII., 1211, is an epithet of Ś'iva, and expresses, as indicated by the context, "tawny."

be acknowledged, in sum, that we know nothing satisfactory concerning our old-world sage; the meagre notices of him that are producible being hopelessly involved in uncertainty, and inextricably embarrassed by fable. Yet it may be credited, with but little hesitation, that he was something more substantial than a myth;* and there is good ground for our receiving, as an historical fact, his alleged connexion with the Sāṅkhya.

In an inscription translated by Colebrooke, there occurs the word *kapilá*, which, he observes, "probably is fire, personified as a female goddess." [sic] *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I., p. 300, last line; and p. 304, foot-note No. 21. It remains to be shown, that the word ever means fire. In that place it bears, undoubtedly, the sense of "dun cow;" from circumambulating which sort of creature great merit is supposed to be acquired. "'A red one:' *kapilá*. When applied to a cow, this term signifies one of the colour of lac-dye, with black tail and white hoofs." Colebrooke's *Two Treatises on the Hindu Law of Inheritance*, p. 131, second foot-note. For *kapilá*, in this acceptation, see the *Mahābhārata*, XIII., 2953, 3535, 3596, 3703-4, 3744, 3764; and, on the subject of circumambulating a cow, see the same poem, XIII., 3436 and 3794.

* Colebrooke comes to a different conclusion. "It may be questioned," he says, "whether Kapila be not altogether a mythological personage, to whom the true author of the doctrine, whoever he was, thought fit to ascribe it." *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I., p. 231. But the *Mahābhārata*, despite its plentiful alloy of fiction, sufficiently attests, it should seem, the reality of the sage; and the *Sāṅkhya-pravachana* and *Tattva-samāsa* may be pseudonymous, without vacating the existence of Kapila, or his character of Sāṅkhya proto-philosopher.

There is, I doubt not, much new matter about Kapila in Dr. Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*; but, to my regret, the work is not, at this moment, accessible to me.

In the *Padma-purāṇa*, latter section, *Gaurī-vivāha-varṇana* subdivision of the *Kumāra-sambhava* chapter, Kapila is said to have dwelt in the village of Indraprastha. Further particulars regarding this personage can, doubtless, be obtained, if the *Kapila-upapurāṇa*,

Among the ancients whose names are found in association with that of Kapila, are Āsuri, Panchas'ikha, Sanātana, and Sanandana. These five persons, with others, we have mytho-historical authority for classing as brothers. But accounts differ on the subject of their parentage. An option is allowed between regarding them as mind-born sons of Brahmā,* and as offspring, after the natural course, of Dharma and Himsā.†

Āsuri, it is stated, had for teacher Kapila himself.‡ That he was an author, we have the evidence, such as it is, of a single couplet.§

which is named in the *Kārma-purāṇa*, and elsewhere, be still extant. For the *Kapila-saṁhitā*, a colloquy concerned with the sacred localities of Orissa, see Dr. Aufrecht's *Catalogus Cod. Manuscript. Sanscrit*, &c., p. 77. At p. 26 of the Sanskrit Catalogue of the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, occurs the name of *Kāpila-smṛiti*, or Legal Institute of Kapila. A work on naval astrology, attributed to Kapila, has been found in the Peninsula. *Mackenzie Collection*, Vol. I., p. 262. A treatise on the Yoga, called *Kapila-gītā*, has also fallen in my way. It professes to be extracted from the *Padma-purāṇa*.

* See the note at p. 14, *supra*.

† See the note at p. 17, *supra*.

‡ *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, I., 3, 11. Panchas'ikha *apud* Vyāsa: *Pātanjala-bhāṣya*, I., 25: आदिविद्वान् निर्माणचित्तमधेष्ठाय कारुण्याद् भगवान् परमर्षिरासुरये जिज्ञासमानाय तन्त्रं प्रोवाच। The commentators are unanimous in understanding, by *paramarshi*, or "great Rishi," Kapila.

Colebrooke—*Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I., p. 231,—speaks of this passage as being one of Panchas'ikha's *sūtras*. But it is not so discriminated by Vyāsa, or by Vyāsa's commentators; though they name Panchas'ikha as its author. Colebrooke, it is clear, did not suspect, that reference was anywhere made to more than one work of Panchas'ikha.

§ विदित्तं दृक्परिणतौ बुद्धौ भोगोऽस्य कथ्यते ।
प्रतिविम्बोदयः खच्छे यथा चन्द्रमसोऽम्बसि ॥

This I found in Chāritrasinha Gaṇi's scholia on the *Shad-dars'ana-samuchchaya*.

Panchas'ikha is called a disciple of Āsuri;* but he is also said to have been instructed by Kapila.† He is known, by scanty fragments, as an aphorist.‡ Of a second work of his we have indications,§ and, it may be, of a third. It is manifest,

* *Mahābhārata*, XII., 7890, 7895.

† And to have been fellow-student of Jaigīshavya. *Kārma-purāna*, Prior Section, IX., 119. See, further, the reference to the *Kārma-purāna* in the note at p. 15, *supra*.

If Colebrooke—*Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I., pp. 229, 230,—meant to intimate, that, in Gaudapāda's commentary, Panchas'ikha is spoken of as Kapila's disciple, either directly, or through Āsuri, he committed an oversight. That Āsuri was Panchas'ikha's preceptor is declared in the seventieth *Kārikā*; but on that couplet Gaudapāda makes no remark.

‡ A single one of his aphorisms is given, as such, in Vyāsa's *Pātanjala-bhāṣhya*, I., 4: एकमेव दर्शनं ह्यातिरेव दर्शनम्। Kshemānanda, in his notes on the *Tattva-samāsa*, twice quotes this as a *sūtra*; and Vāchaspati Miśra, Vijnāna Bhikshu, and Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa, consent in assigning it to Panchas'ikha.

In Vyāsa's *Pātanjala-bhāṣhya* we find, at II., 13: खल्वः सङ्करः सपरिहारः सप्रत्यवसर्गः कुशलस्य नापकर्षायास्तम्। कस्मात् कुशलं हि मे बह्वन्यदस्ति यत्राद्यमावापगतः स्वर्गेऽप्यपकर्षमल्यं करिष्यति। Of this passage,—which is uncharacterized, by Vyāsa, except as being by Panchas'ikha,—the *Sāṅkhya-tattva-kaumudī* cites the words खल्वः सङ्करः सपरिहारः सप्रत्यवसर्गः। So does Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha, in his *Bhakti-chandrikā*. Swapṇeswara, in his annotations on the *Kaumudī*, still dissecting, says, that the first three of these words form one aphorism, and the remaining word, another.

So much for Panchas'ikha's *sūtras*; and it may be questioned whether any more samples of them are forthcoming, notwithstanding Colebrooke's assertion, that they "are frequently cited, and by modern authors on the *Sāṅkhya*." *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I., p. 233.

§ This work is metrical; unless, indeed, the longer extracts, to be given after the ensuing couplets, belong, with one or more of them, to a treatise mixed of prose and verse.

that he wrote on the Sāṅkhya; and it is not impossible, that

आद्यस्तु सोऽक्षो ज्ञानेन द्वितीयो रागसङ्गयान् ।

तच्छ्रजयात् तृतीयस्तु व्याख्यातं सोऽक्षलक्षणम् ॥

This couplet is quoted, by Vijnāna Bhikshu, in his *Brahma-sūtra-riju-vyākhyā*, with the following introduction: विविधं सोऽक्षं क्रमेणाऽऽह तत्त्वसमासाख्यभाष्ये पञ्चशिखाचार्यः । This is the best voucher we have for the opinion, that Panchas'ikha commented on the *Tattwa-samāsa*, of which the words विविधो सोऽक्षः do really constitute a topic. This couplet is again quoted, partially, by Vijnāna, in his *Yoga-vārttika*, as well as in Bhāvāganes'a's *Yogānus'āsana-sūtra-vṛtti*; and in full, by Kshemānanda on the *Tattwa-samāsa*, in the *Sāṅkhya-krama-dīpikā*, and by Bhāvāganes'a in the *Tattwa-yāthārthya-dīpana*. Its various readings, and those of the stanzas following, are not of sufficient importance to call for particularization.

Bhāvāganes'a, in his *Yogānus'āsana-sūtra-vṛtti*, refers the stanza just given, directly to Panchas'ikha; but, in his *Tattwa-yāthārthya-dīpana*, he introduces those verses, and the three couplets subjoined, by expressions importing, that they were borrowed, not from, but through, Panchas'ikha.

पञ्चविंशतितत्त्वज्ञो यच्चक्रवाऽऽद्यमे स्थितः ।

जटो मुखो शिखी वाऽपि सुच्यते नाऽत्र संशयः ॥

प्राकृतेन तु बन्धेन तथा वैकारिकेण च ।

दक्षिणाभिसृतीयेन बद्धोऽयं तु निगद्यते ॥

तत्त्वानि यो वेदयते यथावद् गुणस्वरूपाण्यधिदैवतं च ।

विमुक्तपाप्मा गतदोषमङ्गे गुणास्तु भुङ्क्ते न गुणैः स युज्यते ॥

Now, these three couplets, and that preceding them, the first and the third as acknowledged quotations, are also found in the *Sāṅkhya-krama-dīpikā*. The last two are cited both there and in the *Sāṅkhya-sūtra-vivaraṇa*. The first has been spoken of above; and the second is in Kshemānanda on the *Tattwa-samāsa*, in Chāritrasinha Gaṇi on the *Shad-dars'ana-samuchchaya*, and is twice given in Gauḍapāda on the *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*. It is, besides, observable, that Bhāvāganes'a does not quote a syllable as derived through Panchas'ikha, that does not occur in the *Sāṅkhya-krama-dīpikā*. There is, accordingly, a presumption, that Bhāvāganes'a took the passages from that work, and under the impression, that it was by Panchas'ikha; and

he was likewise an expounder of the dogmas of Patanjali.

this suspicion is strengthened by the second exordial stanza of the *Tattva-yātharthya-dīpana*, where its author clearly enough claims to have consulted Panchas'ikha on the *Tattva-samāsa* :

समाससूत्रमालस्य व्याख्यां पञ्चशिक्षस्य च ।

भावागणेशः कुरुते तत्त्वयाथाव्यदीपनम् ॥

The attribution to Panchas'ikha of the *Sāṅkhya-krama-dīpikā*, if ever actually maintained, would at once be invalidated by indicating the fact, that mention of Panchas'ikha is made, in the work itself, supposed free from interpolation; and in such a manner, namely, with the title of *āchārya*, as to differentiate him from its author.

The passages extracted below have, in every case, the guarantee of good authority for their being by Panchas'ikha. They are given, in the first instance, by Vyāsa, in his *Pātanjala-bhāṣhya*, anonymously: but three of Vyāsa's commentators, Vāchaspati Miśra, in the *Pātanjala-sūtra-bhāṣhya-vyākhyā*, Vijnāna Bhikṣu, in the *Yoga-vārttika*, and Nāgōjī Bhaṭṭa, in the *Pātanjala-sūtra-vṛtti-bhāṣhya-cheḥhāyā-vyākhyā*, testify, one, or all, to their authorship. As for the passage at II., 22, Vāchaspati merely says, that it is by an *āgāmin*, or authoritative sage: the two other scholiasts declare it to be by Panchas'ikha.

The first of the annexed passages is quoted and elucidated by Kṣhemānanda, in the *Āṇava-yoga-kallola*. A few words from the passage at II., 20, are brought forward in the concluding chapter of the *Sarva-dars'ana-saṅgraha*.

तमणुमात्रमात्मानमनुविद्याऽस्मीत्येवं तावत् सप्रजानीत इत्येषा द्वयो विशोका-
विषयवत्यस्मिता मात्रा च प्रवृत्तिर्न्येतिस्मृतौत्युच्यते यथा योगिनश्चित्तं स्थितिपदं
लभते । I., 36.

यत्तन्मयत्तं वा सत्त्वसादृशत्वेनाऽभिप्रतीत्य तस्य सम्यदमनुनन्दत्यात्मसम्यदं मन्वानलस्य
व्यापदमनुशेषत्यात्मव्यापदं मन्वानः स सर्वोऽप्रतिबुद्ध इत्येषा चतुष्पदा भवत्यविद्या
मूलमस्य क्लेशसन्तानस्य कर्माशयस्य च सविपाकस्य । II., 5.

बुद्धितः परं पुरुषमाकारशीलविद्यादिभिर्विभक्तमपश्यन् कुर्वीत तत्राऽऽत्मबुद्धिं
मोहेन । II. 6.

तत्त्वयोगहेतुविवर्जनात् स्यादयमात्यन्तिको दुःखप्रतीकारः । कस्मात् । दुःखहेतोः
परिहार्यस्य प्रतीकारदर्शनात् । तद् यथा पादतलस्य भेद्यता कण्टकस्य भेत्तृत्वं परि-
हारः कण्टकस्य पादानधिष्ठानं पादत्राणव्यवहितेन वाऽधिष्ठानम् । एतत् त्रयं यो
वेद लोके स तत्र प्रतीकारमारभमाणो भेदजं दुःखं नाऽऽप्नोति । कस्मात् । चित्वाप-
लब्धिसामर्थ्यात् । II., 17.

Sanātana is reported to have busied himself with the Yoga ; but none of his writings seem to have survived to the present day.*

Sanandana, at least in the acknowledgment of tradition, was a philosopher of high repute. Of his literary remains, if he left any, nothing, it is believed, has reached us.†

Except at sheer random, we can scarcely estimate the duration that divided Ys'warakrishna from Kapila. The utmost that can, with any safety, be said of his time is, that he flourished before the ninth century. In the very abruptness with which he begins his compendium,‡ the manner of a compar-

अथं तु खलु विष गुणेषु कर्तव्यकर्तारि च पुरुषे तुल्यातुल्यजातोये चतुर्थे तत्क्रिया-
साविष्णुपनीयसानात् सर्वभावानुपपन्नानुपपन्नं दर्शनमन्यत् शङ्कते । II., 18.

अपरिणामिनी हि भोक्तृशक्तिरप्रतिसङ्गमा च परिणामिन्यर्थे प्रतिसङ्गान्नेव तद्वृ-
त्तिमनुपतति । तस्यास्य प्राप्त्यैतन्योपग्रहरूपाया बुद्धिदत्तेरनुकारमात्रतया बुद्धिद-
त्त्वविशिष्टा हि ज्ञानवृत्तिरित्याख्यायते । II., 20.

धर्मिणासनादिसंयोगाद् धर्मसाक्षात्प्राप्त्यादिः संयोगः । II., 22.

रूपातिशया वृत्तिश्रयाश्च परस्परं विबध्यन्ते सामान्यानि त्वतिशयेः सह प्रन-
र्तन्ते । तस्मादसङ्करः । यथा रागस्त्रैव क्वचित् समुदाचार इति न तदानोन्यथाऽ-
भावः किन्तु केवलं सामान्येन समन्वागत इत्यस्ति तदा तत्र तस्य भावस्तथा लक्षणस्य ।
III., 13.

तुल्यदेशव्यवणानामेकश्रुतित्वं सर्वेषां भवति । III., 40.

Little can safely be conjectured with regard to the character of the work, or works, from which these sentences were selected by Vyāsa. They may be text; and they may be commentary. Probably they are Sāṅkhya; but, possibly, they pertain to the Yoga.

* Rāyamukūṭa, in his *Pada-chandrikā*, cites from the *Yoga-s'atākāhyāna* of a Sanātana; and Sundara Deva, in his *Hāṭha-saṅketā-chandrikā*, a Yoga treatise, from the *Sanātana-siddhānta*.

† He is one of the two authorities referred to by name in the *Sāṅkhya-pravāchana*; where he enjoys, uniquely, the honour of being called an *āchārya*. It may be, that this notice of him is in an aphorism retained from the original *Sāṅkhya-sūtra*.

‡ Its opening stanza is translated as follows by Colebrooke, Professor Lassen, Dr. C. J. H. Windischmann, and M. Saint-Hilaire:

atively early age is plainly perceptible : he invokes no divinity,

“The inquiry is into the means of precluding the three sorts of pain : for pain is embarrassment. Nor is the inquiry superfluous, because obvious means of alleviation exist ; for absolute and final relief is not thereby accomplished.”

“E tergeminorum dolorum impetu (oritur) desiderium cognoscendae rationis qua ii depellantur. Quod (cognoscendi desiderium) licet in visibilibus rebus infructuose versetur, non est (infructuosum) propter absentiam absoluti et omni aevo superstitis (remedii).”

“Wegen des Zudrangs der Dreiheit von Leiden entsteht das Bestreben nach Erkenntniss eines diese (Leiden) verdrängenden (radicalen) Heilmittels. Sagt man : Dieses Bestreben sey unnütz, da ein sichtbares (Mittel der Abwehr) vorhanden sey, so ist dies falsch wegen des Nichtseyns eines vollständigen und dauernden (Mittels).”

“La philosophie consiste à guérir les trois espèces de douleurs. Si l'on prétend qu'il existe des moyens matériels de les guérir, et que, par conséquent, la philosophie est inutile, on se trompe ; car il n'est pas un seul de ces moyens qui soit absolu ni définitif.”

If the intended sense, in the first line, were “for pain is embarrassment,” the formation of the sentence being considered, the Sanskrit should be दुःखत्रयस्याभिघातत्वात्. Dr. Windischmann—*Die Philosophie im Fortgang der Weltgeschichte*, pp. 1812, 1813,—concurs with Professor Lassen on the point here controverted, but afterwards copies Colebrooke almost literally. Vāchaspati Mis'ra explains the beginning of the couplet to concern “the disadvantageous connexion of the intelligent power, *or soul*, with threefold pain resident in the internal organ :” दुःखत्रयेणाऽन्तरवर्तिना प्रतिबुद्धतया चेतनाशक्तेरभिसम्बन्धेऽभिघातः । Professor Lassen's “impetus” is not at all “irreconcilable with the context,” as Professor Wilson has pronounced it to be. For the rest, I quite agree with the former in preferring Vāchaspati's तदपघातके to तदभिघातके. The *Kārikā* will then, run thus :

दुःखत्रयाभिघाताज् जिज्ञासा तदपघातके हेतौ ।

दृष्टे साऽपार्था चेन् नैकान्तात्यन्ततोऽभावात् ॥

I would render it : “Because of the discomposure *that comes* from threefold pain, *there arises* a desire to learn the means of doing away therewith *effectually*. If it be objected, *that*, visible means to this end

and salutes no venerable preceptor, but enters at once upon his

being available, such desire is needless, I demur; for that these means do not, entirely and for ever, work immunity from discomposure."

Abhigñāta signifies "impact," "blow," "shock," "agitation." *Apaghñāta* has the sense of "averting," "debarring," "removal," "elimination." *Dṛishṭa*, "visible," is for "worldly," or "physical." Colebrooke puts "obvious."

The French interpretation of the preliminary *Kārikā* is hardly an inspiration of profound scholarship. Yet a critique of it may not be amiss. In the first place, the relation of identity is never, as there assumed, expressed, in Sanskrit, by the fifth case. More strangely still, in manifest ignorance of the manner in which more than one set of Hindu aphorisms commences, M. Saint-Hilaire understands *jijñāsā* to denote "philosophy;" herein silently adopting Professor Lassen's inference, based on the consideration of its etymology: *Gymnosophista*, p. 18. But the mere "ambition to know" would be too vague and indeterminate, by far, for the highest aspiration of the Hindu. Philosophy, with him, is a concretion, a definite *tattva-jijñāsā*, or "desire of apprehending first principles." It may be mentioned, parenthetically, that Professor Wilson has misread Gaudapāda, where he explains जिज्ञासा by the equivalent desiderative विविदिषा; as this does not imply "by the wise," which would be विविदुषा,—or, rather, the plural; if, in fact, such an adjective as विविद्स्, though not abnormal, be ever used.

Another error, on the part of M. Saint-Hilaire, and equally important with the one just disposed of, consists in the anachronism of representing Iś'warakrishṇa as employing a style of phraseology which would reduce him to the last century, and even transport him to the fellowship of antichristian Parisians. With most people but Frenchmen, the contrast to revelation is reason alone. So it is with us; and the same is the case with the Brāhmins, whose word for "reason" is *yukti*, never *jijñāsā*. No more than the Vedānta itself is the Sāṅkhya a school of naturalism. The Bauddhas, the Chārvākas, and a few other classes of Indian religionists, openly and unreservedly disown the warrant of the Veda; but, on the other hand, as Colebrooke has most justly observed, the Sāṅkhyas "endeavour to reconcile their

undertaking, without ceremony or circumlocution. Who he was,

doctrine to the text of the Indian scripture, and refer to passages which they interpret as countenancing their opinions. The *Ālmānsā*, which professedly follows the *Veda* implicitly, is, therefore, applied in its controversy with these half-heretics, to the confutation of such misinterpretations. It refutes an erroneous construction, rather than a mistaken train of reasoning." Like the rest of the six great systems, the *Sāṅkhya*, it is true, imposes some share of its dogmas upon the *Veda*, and then claims to have extracted them from it: a course which has had its precise parallel in procedures connected with our own Holy Writ. Still, its free-handling is by no means overdone, if we judge by the Indian standard.

M. Saint-Hilaire, in the course of his remarks on the first *Kārikā*, adduces the introductory sentence of those imputed to Kapila: "L'objet définitif de l'esprit de l'homme, c'est la cessation définitive de la triple douleur." On this, and the two aphorisms which succeed it, he says: "La traduction de ces trois Soûtras de Kapila nous montre fort nettement quel a été le travail de l'auteur de la *Kārikā*. Il n'a rien changé à la pensée primitive, et il l'a suivie pas à pas: seulement il l'a rendue plus précise; il l'a même abrégée."**** Ainsi, dès le premier pas, la *Kārikā*, comme les Soûtras, établit l'objet de la philosophie." This is very gratuitous. Where, in the first three aphorisms, do we see anything about *jijnāsa*, M. Saint-Hilaire's hypothetical "philosophie"? The complete cessation of threefold pain is there enunciated to be the supreme purpose of the soul. On M. Saint-Hilaire's theory, that *I's'warakṛishṇa* adheres undeviatingly to the intent of the aphorist, "la philosophie," the contradistinguished from revelation, must have been substituted, by him, for "l'objet définitif de l'esprit de l'homme."

Proceeding to the second *Kārikā*, we find the expression दृष्टवानु-
श्रविकः, "the revealed mode is like the temporal one," as Colebrooke has it. Yet all revelation is not here contemplated. The commentators are of opinion, and rightly, that only the Vaidika ritual is animadverted upon. What is inculcated is, that a man should not restrict himself to sacrifice and like observances, the promised requital whereof is confined to the inferior bliss of Elysium, and stops short of ensuring a period to the grand evil of existence, metempsychosis.

and where he dwelt, are, however, questions that must, it seems, for ever go unanswered. One writer, to be sure, styles him disciple of Panchas'ikha;* and another will have it, that he and Kálidása were the same person:† but these statements though worthy of record, would require strong confirmation before they could challenge acceptance.

Those works which the Hindus style non-voluntary,—among which sacrifice is comprehended,—are, indeed, said to be attended with sin: nevertheless, whatever the sin of performing them, there would be greater sin in abstaining from them. Being prescribed, they must be done; and the consequences must be endured, and duly atoned for. The Sánkhyā simply takes a slight beyond the legalistic Mīmāṃsā: and so does the Vedānta; no more than which does the Sánkhyā cut itself away from the Veda, or lay a ban upon the rites and ceremonies which it is thought to enjoin. In a word, the Sánkhyā would only dissuade from content with a lower grade of future happiness. M. Saint-Hilaire's phrase of "reste de respect pour l'écriture sainte," used of a Sánkhyā, proceeds, then, from misapprehension; and equally so does his remark on the first two *Kárikās*: "L'autorité de la raison n'a jamais été plus nettement affirmée; sa suprématie n'a jamais été plus hautement proclamée."

* Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha, in the *Tattwa-chandra*, so describes him, and gives him the title of Muni.

† Swapnes'wara says, in the *Kaumudī-prabhā*: ईश्वरकृष्णनाम्ना कालिदासेन कृताः कारिकाः। These words are continuous with the extract given in a foot-note to p. 8, *supra*. The only MSS. of the *Kaumudī-prabhā* that I have seen,—two in number,—are defective at the conclusion, where Swapnes'wara may, perhaps, have enlarged on the traditional identity which he reports.

Kavirāja Yati, author of the *Sánkhyā-tattwa-pradīpa*, calls Iś'wara-kṛishṇa *sánkhyā-mūla-kāra*, or "founder of the Sánkhyā." This may have been intended as nothing more than a compliment. As such I have more than once heard the epithet applied, by the pandits, to the compiler of the *Sánkhyā-kārikā*.

Colebrooke, prior to the date of his elaborate and fruitful researches on Hindu philosophy, wrote as follows: "The text of the *Sánkhyā*

The next writer that here calls for notice is one of foremost importance. Of all extant treatises on the system of Kapila, by much the most valuable are those of Vijuána Bhikshu. While he unfolds the doctrines of the Sánkhyā with a completeness such as leaves little to be supplemented, he has the merit, in his capacity of expositor, of being as cautious as he is copious. If none of his countrymen have added to him, neither has any one of them ventured to arraign his accuracy,* still less, to disallow his ability.

philosophy, from which the sect of Buddha seems to have borrowed its doctrines, is not the work of Kapila himself, though vulgarly ascribed to him; but it purports to be composed by Is'warakrishna." *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I., p. 103. Unquestionably, this sentence was penned while Colebrooke was as yet unacquainted with the so-called aphorisms of Kapila; and it must have escaped his eye, when he was recommitting his essays to the press.

* M. Saint-Hilaire, indeed has found fault with him; but the reader shall see how misapprehensively.

First of all, I subjoin the twenty-fifth *Káriká*, with Colebrooke's translation, and the censurer's:

सात्त्विकं एकादशकः प्रवर्तते वैज्ञानाद्वक्त्रात्।
भूतादेस्तन्मात्रः स तामसस्त्वैजसादुभयम्॥

"From consciousness, affected by goodness, proceeds the good elevenfold set: from it, as a dark origin of being, come elementary particles: both issue from that principle affected by foulness."

"L'ensemble des onze principes donés de bonté émane du moi quand il est modifié également par la bonté. Du moi considéré comme élément primitif viennent les éléments grossiers; il est alors obscur; et cette double émanation n'a lieu que par l'influence de l'activité."

Now, the expression "origin of being" is, in this place, all but nugatory: and Professor Wilson's assumption, that "origin of beings" is intended, does not at all mend the matter; since "beings," in the only plausible sense of which the word is here susceptible, that of "creatures," or "elemental creation,"—fifty-third *Káriká*,—are, out of the Puráṇas, produced from egoism only by the intermediate agency of the elementary particles.

His reputation as an author rests upon at least five works,

The mistake which Professor Wilson falls into, after his attempt to correct Colebrooke, can easily enough be accounted for. Gaudapáda says: भूतानामादिभूतः । तमेवञ्जलेनोक्तः स तामस इति । This the Professor translates thus: "The first element of the elements is darkness; therefore it is usually called *the dark*." But the word here rendered by "first element" would, as masculine, mean "first being," if it were a substantive; "first element" requiring, not *ádibhúta*, but *ádibhútam*. Being, however, an adjective, it refers to *bhútádi*, the second factor of which it justifies etymologically. This reference should have been evident from the gender of *uktah*, *sa*, and *támasa*; and also from that of *bahulas*, which could never be an adverb. It is not propounded, that the elements originate from their like, from an element; and, while nothing is predicated of darkness, darkness is predicated as characterizing one of the varieties of egoism. The passage cited above will, therefore, admit of no other translation than such as this: "It, *origin of the elements*, is originant, viz., of the elements: it is surcharged with darkness, and hence is called dark." To bear out Professor Wilson's English, the Sanskrit should have stood somewhat after this sort: भूतानामाद्यभूतं तमः । तेन वञ्ज्योक्तं तन् तामसमिति ।

In giving the passage from Gaudapáda, I have supplied it with punctuation, and the only punctuation that it will abide.

In the *Vishnu-purána*, at I., 12, 53, the term *bhútádi* "generative of the elements," epithetically employed in place of "dark egoism," is again rendered, by Professor Wilson, "first element." See his Translation, p. 93, line 12.

Professor Wilson, building on his oversight, indulges in the following comment, which may now be cancelled: "There is a remarkable expression in the *Bháshya*, which presents a notion familiar to all ancient cosmogonies. Gaudapáda says, 'the first of the elements was darkness.' It is the first of the 'elements,' not the first of 'things;' for it was preceded by unevolved nature, and intellect, and it is itself a modified form of individuality. It therefore harmonizes perfectly well with the prevailing ideas in the ancient world, of the state of things anterior to elementary or visible creation, when 'chaos was, and night,' and when

all of them concerned with philosophy. Their titles, in the

Nullus adhuc mundo praebebat lumina Titan,

Nec nova crescendo reparabat cornua Phoebe.

In the influence of the quality of foulness, or passion,—for the word *rajas* has both senses,—may be suspected an affinity to the doctrine of an active principle, the moving mind, the *eros*, that set inert matter into motion, and produced created things.” Oxford *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*, p. 94.

Professor Lassen, who was the first to translate the whole of Is'wara-kṛishṇa's treatise, has a right understanding of *bhūtādi*. “Caterva undenum essentialis proficiscitur e sui sensu essentiali; rudimentalis ex (sui sensu) elementorum generatore; haec caliginosa est. Ex impetuoso (sui sensu) utralibet oritur creatio.” Twenty-fifth *Kārikā*, in *Gymnosophista*, p. 58.

Professor Wilson's remarks, incidentally bearing on the functions of *bhūtādi*, at p. 164 of the Oxford *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*, are unsubstantiated. The text on which those observations are founded is as follows: एवमभौतिकः सर्गो लिङ्गसर्गो भावसर्गो भूतसर्गो देवमानुषतैर्दग्धोना इत्येव प्रधान-हृतः षोडशसर्गः । “Thus, non-elemental creation, rudimental creation, conditional and elemental creation, in beings of divine, mortal, brutal, and (immovable) origin, are the sixteen sorts of creation effected by nature.” Instead of this, we should certainly read: “The non-elemental creation,—i. e., the rudimental creation and the conditional creation,—and the elemental creation, or the aggregate of beings of divine, mortal, and brutal, origin, are the sixteen sorts of creation proceeding *mediately* from nature.”

My MS. wants the word भूतसर्गो “elemental creation:” but its insertion, as an equivalent of the भौतिकः सर्गः of the fifty-third *Kārikā*, is quite immaterial. Moreover, I have corrected a grammatical inadvertence.

The elemental creation has fourteen divisions; and the two branches of the non-elemental count, each, as unity. The sum of sixteen is thus completed. There is, then, no such successive correlation, in the above passage, as may have led the Professor to supply the word “immovable,” and which induced him to make the following comment: “Apparently, each of the four classes of beings proceeds from

order, mainly, in which they were composed, here follow.

four modifications of nature ; or, from the invisible principles, from the subtle rudiments, from the conditions or dispositions of intellect, and from the gross elements."

The evolution of the Sāṅkhya principles, as recited in the *Vishṇu-purāṇa*, is strangely misrepresented by the translator. A single specimen will suffice.

भूतादिस्तु विकुर्वाणः शब्दतन्मात्रिकं ततः ॥
ससर्ज शब्दतन्मात्रादाकाशं शब्दलक्षणम् ।
शब्दमात्रं तथाऽऽकाशं भूतादिः स समावृणोत् ॥

I., 2, 37-8.

"Elementary Egotism then becoming productive, as the rudiment of sound, produced from it Ether, of which sound is the characteristic, investing it with its rudiment of sound." P. 16.

The correct rendering is : "The element-engendering *egoism*, being modified, then produced the rudiment of sound ; *and*, from the rudiment of sound, the ether, of which the characteristic is sound : *and* this element-engendering *egoism*, similarly to agents in processes before mentioned, invested the ether, which consists of sound."

Almost the entire page from which the passage above touched on is taken, is disfigured by the style of misapprehension just pointed out. In one place, in fact, in order to force the construction desired, the nominative singular *vāyú*—euphonically required for *vāyuh*—is made accusative. Saintly liberties vastly more licentious than this are often taken, in the Purāṇas ; but there is, in this instance, no temptation whatever to do violence to Pāṇini.

To return to M. Saint-Hilaire. Part of his comment on the twenty-fifth *Kārikā* is thus expressed : "Or Vidjñāna comprend qu'il s'agit ici, non pas de l'ensemble des onze principes sortant du moi, mais du onzième principe, c'est-à-dire, du manas, du cœur, qui, dans toutes les classifications, figure régulièrement, comme on l'a vu, au onzième rang, parce qu'il est tout à la fois organe de perception et organe d'action. Il faudrait donc faire ici un changement considérable, et substituer le manas aux onze organes.

* * * * *

"Si l'on adopte l'explication de Vidjñāna, il faudrait traduire le vingt-cinquième sloka de la façon suivante : 'Le onzième principe doué

I. The *Brahma-sûtra-riju-vyākhyā*, sometimes called *Vijnānām-*

de bonté émane du moi quand le moi est modifié également par la bonté; du onzième principe, considéré comme élément primitif, viennent les éléments grossiers. Ce onzième principe est obscur; et tous deux, ce principe et le moi, n'agissent que sous l'influence de l'activité.'

"Mais on peut remarquer que cette explication est en contradiction formelle avec les slokas qui précèdent: d'abord, avec le sloka vingt-deuxième, qui fait sortir directement du moi les seize principes, et qui fait sortir en particulier les éléments grossiers des éléments subtils; et ensuite, avec le sloka vingt-quatrième, qui reproduit la même doctrine. Il faut ajouter que cette doctrine que nous retrouvons dans la *Kārikā* vient de Kapila lui-même, comme le prouve le *soûtra* que nous avons cité. Nous devons donc nous en fier à l'explication de Gaoudapada plutôt qu'à celle de Vidjnāna. Dans le système *sāṅkhya* bien interprété, les cinq éléments grossiers viennent des cinq éléments subtils; et les cinq éléments subtils, avec les onze organes, viennent du moi. Ce n'est pas le *manas*, le cœur, qui produit les éléments grossiers, comme le croit Vidjnāna Bhikshou; et ce qui doit nous étonner encore davantage dans son erreur, c'est que, dans le *soûtra* immédiatement précédent, Kapila dit expressément, lecture deuxième, *soûtra* dix-septième: 'L'effet du moi, c'est l'ensemble des onze organes et des cinq éléments grossiers.' Quelque délicat qu'il soit de se prononcer dans des questions de ce genre, nous croyons pouvoir affirmer que Vidjnāna Bhikshou s'est trompé, et qu'il n'y a point à tenir compte de son opinion." *Premier Mémoire*, &c., pp. 100—102.

The critic, misled by Professor Wilson's "first element," translates *bhātādi* by "élément primitif." He also substitutes "éléments grossiers" for éléments subtils," as an evolution from his "élément primitif;" thus passing by the origin of the subtle elements, which, themselves directly derived from egoism, constitute the immediate source of the gross elements.

In order to adjust the twenty-fifth *Kārikā* after Vijnāna's conception of *manas*, M. Saint-Hilaire correctly premises, that this word, denoted by "the eleventh," must be substituted, in the couplet, for "eleven." But, professing to effect this substitution, while he once puts *manas* therefor, he puts it three times for "egoism." He also puts

ṛita ; a commentary on the Vedānta Aphorisms of Bādarāyaṇa.

egoism for "subtile elements," or, rather, "gross elements:" for he foists this blunder of his own, as well as his borrowed "primitive element," on the injured commentator. Vijnāna was not the man to perpetrate such a solecism as the deducing any of the elements from mind. He expands the text of the *Sāṅkhya-pravachana*, II., 17, in these words: "The eleven organs, and the five subtile elements, *to-wit*, sound, &c., are the products of egoism:" एकादशेन्द्रियाणि शब्दादि-पञ्चतन्मात्रं चाऽहङ्कारस्य कार्यमित्यर्थः। How could this have escaped the critic's eye?

But Vijnāna has clearly enough set forth his view of the twenty-fifth *Kārikā*; as M. Saint-Hilaire would have seen, had he only mastered, even with the aid of Professor Wilson,—a little closely scrutinized,—the scholiast's understanding of the eighteenth Aphorism of the second Book. After alleging *manas* to mean the eleventh organ, Vijnāna explains "both" to refer to the intellectual organs and the organs of action: एकादशानां पूरणमेकादशकं मनः षोडशब्रह्मगणमध्ये सात्त्विकम्। अतस्त्रयं वैकृतात् सात्त्विकाहङ्काराज् जायत इत्यर्थः। अतश्च राजसाहङ्काराद् दशेन्द्रियाणि तामसाहङ्काराच्च तन्मात्राण्येव गन्तव्यम्। * * * * * उभयं ज्ञानकर्त्रेन्द्रिये। The *Kārikā* will, then, run thus: "The eleventh *organ*, consisting of goodness, originates from modified egoism. From *egoism*, as the source of the elements, *proceed* the elementary particles; and this *variety of egoism* is imbued with darkness. From *egoism* affected by activity, arise both *the intellectual organs and the organs of action*."

Vijnāna is, therefore, peculiar, as compared with some others, in deriving from pure egoism but a single educt, mind, instead of eleven, viz., mind and the ten organs of intellection and action: the latter being referred, by him, to the active species of egoism; which is held, on the adverse interpretation, to be, independently, inoperative, but yet an indispensable condition of energy on the part of the other two manifestations of the self-conscious principle. Whether *ekādas'akam*, in the aphorism, stands for "eleven," or for "eleventh," is altogether uncertain. Aniruddha takes it to be for the former. That Vijnāna deals with the *Kārikā* unjustifiably, in respect of *ubhayam*, is not to be gainsaid. At the same time, the Aphorisms stand uncommitted to the doctrine clearly implied thereby. We here have an addition,

II. The *Sāṅkhya-pravachana-bhāṣya*, or *Sāṅkhya-bhāṣya*; a commentary already spoken of. III. The *Pātanjala-bhāṣya-vārttika*, or *Yoga-vārttika*; annotating Vyāsa's commentary

in the *Kārikās*, which ill comports with the theory, that they were derived, by abridgement, or otherwise, from the *Sāṅkhya-pravachana* as we now have it.

The productiveness of active egoism is the doctrine of the Purāṇas. For instance :

भूततन्मात्रसर्गोऽयमद्वक्कारात् तु तासत्तात् ।
तैजसान्द्रियाणाञ्छुर्देवा वैकारिका दश ॥
एकादशं मनसाऽत्र देवा वैकारिकाः स्मृताः ।

Vishnu-purāṇa, I., 1, 46-7.

"This is the elemental creation, proceeding from the principle of egotism affected by the property of darkness. The organs of sense are said to be the passionate products of the same principle, affected by foulness; and the ten divinities proceed from egotism affected by the principle of goodness; as does mind, which is the eleventh." Professor Wilson's Translation, pp. 17, 18.

In a foot-note to p. 16, the Professor repeats Gauḍapāda's account of the three sorts of egoism, but without directing attention to its contradiction of his text.

For a passage to the same effect with the verses given above, see the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, III., 5, 29 seqq. : also III., 26, 27 seqq. The first of these two passages is cited by Vijnāna on II., 18, of the *Sāṅkhya-pravachana*. Virarāghava, in his commentary, the *Bhāgavata-chandrikā*, wrests the word *taijasāt*, in the fourth verse, into congruity with the dogmas of Iś'warakrishṇa and his school, by explaining it to denote "with the aid of *passional egotism*."

Add: वैकारिकाद्वक्कारात् सर्गो वैकारिकोऽभवत् ।
तैजसान्द्रियाणि शुर्देवा वैकारिका दश ॥
एकादशं मनसात्र खगुणेनोभयात्मकम् ।
भूततन्मात्रसर्गोऽयं भूतादेरभवत् प्रजाः ॥

This is from the *Kūrma-purāṇa*, Prior Section, IV. It will be found, probably quoted from memory, in the *Sāṅkhya-sāra*, p. 17.

It were easy to enlarge on the peculiarities of these passages, and to point out many more cases of misapprehension in M. Saint-Hilaire's observations on the twenty-fifth *Kārikā*.

on the Aphorisms of Patanjali. IV. The *Sāṅkhya-sūtra*, which awaits description. V. The *Yoga-sūtra-saṅgraha*, or *Jñāna-pradīpa*; a succinct exposition of the Yoga. Each of these works, from the last upwards, cites all that, as here disposed, precede it. But the *Sāṅkhya-bhāṣya* and the *Yoga-vārttika* quote each other. Their author appears, accordingly, to have been engaged with both at the same time; unless he, or some one else, interpolated one or the other.

In all probability, Vijnāna lived in the sixteenth or seventeenth century.* There is some slight ground, however, for carrying him back still further.† His nationality is unknown; and so is his civil appellation even: for Vijnāna Bhikṣu‡ is,

* According to an anecdote which I have heard from several pandits, Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa, the epitomator of Vijnāna's *Sāṅkhya-bhāṣya*, synchronized with Jayasinha, Rājā of Jaypur. The time of that prince is fixed by the fact, that, under him the *Jayasinha-kalpādruma*, by Ratnākara Bhaṭṭa, son of Deva Bhaṭṭa, was composed in the Samvat year 1770, or A. D. 1713. So much for oral tradition.

† In the *Prayoga-ratna*, a work on the sixteen sacraments, by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, son of Rāmes'wara Bhaṭṭa, its author says, that he was assisted, in preparing it, by Ananta Dīkshita, son of Vis'wanātha Dīkshita. The father of one of Vijnāna's disciples, Bhāvāganes'a Dīkshita, was Bhāvāvis'wanātha Dīkshita; and, if the latter was one with Vis'wanātha Dīkshita, and if Bhāvāganes'a Dīkshita was brother of Ananta Dīkshita, we are enabled to form a pretty correct estimate as to the time of Vijnāna Bhikṣu. For Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's youngest brother's second son, Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa, dates his *Kāla-tattva-vivechana* in Samvat 1677, or A. D. 1620. Vijnāna may be placed fifty or sixty years earlier.

In the prefatory verses of Vijnāna's *Pātanjala-bhāṣya-vārttika*, according to one of the many MSS. of it which I have examined, reference is made to one Bhavadeva, as an authority on the Yoga. Bhavadeva Miśra, of Patna, author of the *Pātanjalīyābhīnava-bhāṣya*, a commentary on the *Yoga-sūtra*, seems to be intended. But of his age I know nothing.

‡ Or Vijnāna Yati, as he is called just as often.

without question, the style of a devotee. Literature has preserved to us the names of three of his disciples :* Bhāvāganes'a Dīkshita,† Prasādamādhava Yogin,‡ and Divyasinha Miś'ra.§

The ignorance of our pandits very ordinarily confounds him with Vijnānes'wara, or Vijnāna Yogin, author of the *Mitāksharā*, the celebrated commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*. But there is no evidence whatever that they are identical. Vijnānes'wara, who bore the title of Bhāṭṭāraka, was son of Padmanābha Bhāṭṭa, of the stock of Bharadvāja. His preceptor was Vis'warūpa A'chārya, likewise a scholiast of Yājñavalkya. Vis'warūpa A'chārya, it is said, was the same person as Sures'wara A'chārya, civilly called Maṇḍana Miś'ra; a disciple of S'ankara A'chārya.

* M. Saint-Hilaire says : " Un maître n'a généralement qu'un disciple ; un gorou n'a qu'un brahmachāri." *Premier Mémoire*, §e., p. 7. Again : " La science, ainsi que j'ai eu occasion de le dire au début de ce mémoire, se transmet, dans l'Inde, habituellement d'un seul maître à un seul disciple." *Ibid.*, p. 254. This is news in India. Such cases no longer exist; and they must always have been exceptional.

† I have seen a MS., without date, of the *Tantra-chūdamani*, or *Dharma-mīmāṃsā-saṅgraha*, an elementary Mīmāṃsā disquisition, by Kṛishṇadeva, son of Rāma A'chārya, which professes to be in the hand-writing of that person. I incline to consider the age of the MS. to be, at the very least, a couple of centuries.

‡ Author of the *S'ārīra-kārikā-bhāṣya*, or *Kārikārtha-viniś'chaya*, a dissertation on the following enigmatical couplet, which its elucidator claims to take from the *Mahābhārata* :

एकया द्वे विनिश्चित्य त्रींश्चतुर्भिर्वशीकुरु ।

पञ्च जित्वा विदित्वा षट् सप्त हित्वा सुखी भव ॥

The dissertation is in four sections; one being allotted to each quarter of the distich.

§ Divyasinha Miś'ra has written a commentary, by name *S'ārīra-kārikā-bhāṣya-vārttika*, on the work mentioned in the last note. He styles himself fellow-student of Prasādamādhava Yogin, under Vijnāna Bhikshu; and he eulogizes Prasādamādhava as the most eminent of their master's disciples.

The following is as complete a list as I am at present able to draw up, of works treating exclusively of the Sāṅkhya.

I. The *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*,* by Is'warakṛishṇa. Commentaries on it are :

A. The *Sāṅkhya-kārikā-bhāṣya*, by Gauḍapāda, supposed to be one with the preceptor of Govinda, of whom S'āṅkara Āchārya was disciple.†

* I return to this work for a moment. Coupling it with the *Sāṅkhya-pravachana*, Colebrooke says, that both "may be considered to be genuine and authoritative expositions of the doctrine; and, the more especially, as they do not, upon any material point, appear to disagree." *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I., p. 234.

On the subject of Is'wara, the *Sāṅkhya-pravachana* asserts, that there is no proof of his existence. May it not be, that Is'warakṛishṇa, since he avoids any such declaration, thought differently? Possibly he would have denied, that the Sāṅkhya, as he held it, even implicitly rejects Is'wara.

The original Sanskrit of the *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*, unaccompanied by any commentary, has been published by Professor Lassen: also, in Roman characters, by M. G. Pauthier. These verses have been translated into Latin, by Professor Lassen; into German, by Dr. C. J. H. Windischmann; into English, by Colebrooke; and into French, by MM. G. Pauthier and Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire.

† See Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I., p. 233. S'āṅkara lived at "the close of the eighth, or beginning of the ninth, century." Id., *ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 332. Dr. F. H. H. Windischmann thinks, that he died not long before the year 750. *Sāṅkara, sive de Theologumenis Vedanticorum*, p. 42.

The notion, that Gauḍapāda was pupil of S'uka, the son of Vyāsa, is generally received by the Brāhmins. See, for this association, Colebrooke's reference to the *S'āṅkara-digvijaya*: *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I., p. 104.

Gaṅgādhara Saraswatī, author of the *Dattātreyā-charitra*, a metrical composition in the Marāṭhī language, deduces his own discipular descent, through S'uka and Gauḍapāda, from S'iva, as follows: S'āṅkara, Viṣṇu, Brāhmā, Vasishṭha, S'akti, Parāś'ara, Vyāsa, S'uka,

B. The *Sāṅkhya-tattva-kaumudī*, or *Sāṅkhya-kaumudī*, by Vāchaspati Miśra, pupil of Mārtaṇḍatilaka Svāmin.* It has been annotated in

a. The *Tattva-kaumudī-vyākhyā*, by Bhārati Yati, pupil of Bodha Aranya Yati.

Gauḍapāda Āchārya, Govinda Āchārya, S'ankara Āchārya, Viś'vārūpa, Bodha Giri, Jñāna Giri, Sinhāla Giri, Is'wara Tīrtha, Nṛsinha Tīrtha, Vidyā Tīrtha, Śiva Tīrtha, Bhārati Tīrtha, Vidyā Aranya, Śrīpāda, Vidyā Tīrtha, Malaya Ananda, Deva Tīrtha, Vṛinda Sarasvatī, Yādavendra Sarasvatī, Kṛishṇa Sarasvatī, Nṛsinha Sarasvatī, and Gangādhara Sarasvatī. Gangādhara had seven fellow-students, all bearing the title of Sarasvatī: Bāla, Kṛishṇa, Upendra, Mādhava, Sadānanda, Jñānājyoti, and Siddhendra.

The *Mitāksharā*, a commentary on the *Brahma-sūtra*, by Annam Bhaṭṭa, son of Tirumala, contains a list, identical, down to S'ankara Āchārya, with the foregoing; except that Vasishṭha is preceded by Brahma and Brahmā.

Gauḍapāda, it appears credible, belonged to the very precinct of the age of fable.

Gauḍapāda's scholia on the *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*, including the memorial verses, were published, by Professor Wilson, at Oxford, in 1837. Prefixed to the originals is the Professor's translation of the scholia, accompanying Colebrooke's version of the text.

* The *Sāṅkhya-kaumudī* was published in Calcutta, in the *Samvat* year 1905, or A. D. 1848: pp. 49, small Svo.

Colebrooke—*Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I., p. 233,—seems to be of opinion, that the title of *Tattva-kaumudī* is applied to Vāchaspati's work only by comparatively recent abbreviation. But the concluding distich of the book itself, if not spurious, contains the shorter form. It also occurs in the list of Vāchaspati's works, as detailed at the end of his *Bhāmātī-nibandha*; and in Mādhava Āchārya's *Sarva-dars'ana-sangraha*.

Vāchaspati's exact age has not yet been discovered. But he is mentioned, as are Udayana and Pras'astapāda, in the *Nyāya-sūtra-vichāra* of Bhaṭṭa Rāghava, which was written in the *S'aka* year 1174, or A. D. 1252; and he quotes from Bhoja, who was reigning in A. D. 1042.

b. The *Tattwārṇava*, or *Tattwāmṛita-prakāś'ini*, by Rāghava Ānanda Saraswatī, disciple of Adwaya Ānanda, disciple of Viś'wes'wara.

c. The *Tattwa-chandra*,* by Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha, who studied under Vāsudeva Tīrtha and Rāmagovinda Tīrtha.

d. The *Kaumudī-prabhā*, by Swapneś'wara, son of Vāhinis'a.

e. The *Sāṅkhya-tattwa-vilāsa*, *Sāṅkhya-vṛitti-prakāś'a*, or *Sāṅkhyārtha-saṅkhyāyika*, by Raghunātha Tarkavāgīs'a Bhaṭṭāchārya, son of Ś'ivarāma Chakravartin, son of Chandravandya, son of Kās'ínātha, son of Balabhadra, son of Sarvānanda Mis'ra. This is little more than a jejune epitome of the *Sāṅkhya-kaumudī*, with a preface briefly explaining the *Tattwa-samāsa*, which it repeats.

f. The *Sāṅkhya-tattwa-vibhākara*.†

C. The *Sāṅkhya-chandrikā*, by Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha.

D. The *Sāṅkhya-kaumudī*, by Rāmakṛishṇa Bhaṭṭāchārya, who is said to borrow freely from the author of the work last named.‡

II. The *Tattwa-samāsa*,§ expositions of which are :

* Of this work I have seen only a fragment of the beginning, going over Vāhaspati's elucidation of the first eight *Kārikās*.

Two couplets, which appear in the *Sāṅkhya-pravachana-bhāshya* as if by its author, are cited by Nārāyaṇa. He may, then, have come after Vijnāna Bhikshu.

† This work I know only from the first volume of Dr. Albrecht Weber's *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek*. Berlin: 1853, p. 638. Dr. Weber is in doubt whether its author's name be, or be not, Vans'īdhara.

‡ See Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*. Vol. I., p. 234. Rāmakṛishṇa's work I have not seen. Professor Lassen — *Gymnosophista* : Pref. p. ix.,—makes it possible, that it bears the second title of *Sāṅkhya-sāra*. Prof. Wilson leaves this point undiscussed. Oxford *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*, Preface, p. vii.

§ Except for its having elicited comments that lay under contribution philosophical sources presumed to be no longer forthcoming.

A. The *Sarvopakāriṇī*, by a nameless writer.

ing, the *Tattva-samāsa* is of slight importance. It is a mere index to the topics of the *Sāṅkhya*.

The articles that make it up are variously reckoned by different authorities. The *Sarvopakāriṇī* counts but twenty-two; as follows:

अष्टौ प्रकृतयः ॥ १ ॥ षोडश विकाराः ॥ २ ॥ पुरुषः ॥ ३ ॥ त्रैगुण्यसञ्चरः ॥ ४ ॥
प्रतिसञ्चरः ॥ ५ ॥ अध्यात्मम् ॥ ६ ॥ अधिभूतम् ॥ ७ ॥ अधिदैवम् ॥ ८ ॥ पञ्चाभि-
बुद्धयः ॥ ९ ॥ पञ्च कर्मयोगयः ॥ १० ॥ पञ्च बाधनः ॥ ११ ॥ पञ्च कर्मात्मानः ॥ १२ ॥
पञ्चपर्वविद्या ॥ १३ ॥ अष्टाविंशतिधाशक्तिः ॥ १४ ॥ नवधा तुष्टिः ॥ १५ ॥ अष्ट-
धा सिद्धिः ॥ १६ ॥ दश सूक्तिकार्याः ॥ १७ ॥ अन्नग्रहसर्गः ॥ १८ ॥ चतुर्दशविधो
भूतसर्गः ॥ १९ ॥ त्रिविधो धन्यः ॥ २० ॥ त्रिविधो मोक्षः ॥ २१ ॥ त्रिविधं प्रसा-
णम् ॥ २२ ॥ एतद् व्याख्यानम् । एतत् सम्यग् ज्ञात्वा क्षतक्षत्यः स्थान् न पुनस्त्रि-
विधेन दुःखेनाभिभूयते ।

The topic *traiguṇya-sanchara* is given as two, in all the other commentaries. It is only by this bisection, that the *Sāṅkhya-sūtra-vivaraṇa* differs from the *Sarvopakāriṇī*; and thus exhibits twenty-three so-called *sūtras*.

The *Sāṅkhya-krama-dīpikā* recites, at its commencement, twenty-five topics, but clearly by error; as it reduces them to twenty-four, by foregoing all explication of the words *trividho dhātu-sargah*, which occur after the topic given above as the nineteenth. The MS. from which Dr. J. R. Ballantyne printed the work in question, seems to be peculiar in reading *trividho dhātu-sansargah*. In the preface to the *Sāṅkhya-tattva-vilāsa*, where the *Tattva-samāsa* is quoted, as if from the *Sāṅkhya-krama-dīpikā*, and briefly elucidated, the expression *trividho dhātu-sargah* is explained by the words *vāta-pitta-kapha-bhedāt trividhah*, as intending the assemblage of wind, choler, and phlegm.

The *Sāṅkhya-krama-dīpikā* gives after No. 22 as above, the words *trividham dukkham*, as a topic.

The reading of the *Tattva-yāthārthya-dīpana* corresponds with that of the *Sāṅkhya-krama-dīpikā*, barring its rejection of *trividho*, &c., and its considering the words *etad yāthātathyam* as a topic; thus actually giving twenty-five as the total.

Kshemānanda, in his annotations on the *Tattva-samāsa*, states, that it contains twenty-five topics: but he enumerates only twenty-four; his text being, as far as the words *etad yāthātathyam*, identical with that of the *Tattva-yāthārthya-dīpana*.

B. The *Sāṅkhya-sūtra-vivaraṇa*, also by an anonymous author.

The eighth topic is read, in the *Sāṅkhya-sūtra-vivaraṇa*, *adhidai-ram cha*; and *adhidaivatam cha*, in the *Sāṅkhya-krama-dīpikā*, in the *Tattwa-yāthārthya-dīpana*, and in Kshemānanda on the *Tattwa-samāsa*. The *Sarvopakāriṇī*, in its seventeenth topic, is unique in preferring *das'a* to *das'adhā*.

The *Tattwa-samāsa* is generally found appended to Vedānti Mahādeva's *Sāṅkhya-vṛitti-sāra*, and according to the reading of the *Sarvopakāriṇī*. Mahādeva, however, perhaps for the sake of shortness, omits the two sentences by which the topics are usually followed.

Of the *Sāṅkhya-krama-dīpikā* I have collated five MSS.

Another classification of the *Sāṅkhya* topics, which computes them at sixty, is propounded in the commentaries on the *Tattwa-samāsa*, and in the *Rāja-vārttika* as quoted in the *Sāṅkhya-kaumudī* and *Sarvopakāriṇī*. The passage from the *Rāja-vārttika* runs as follows:

प्रधानास्तिलमेकत्वसर्ववत्त्वमथान्यता ।
पारार्थ्यं च तथानैक्यं विधेगो योग एव च ॥
शेषद्वित्तरकर्तृत्वं मौलिकार्याः स्मृता दश ।
विपर्ययः पञ्चविधस्तथोक्ता नव तुष्टयः ॥
करणानामसामर्थ्यमष्टाविंशतिधा सतम् ।
इति षष्टिः पदार्थानामष्टाभिः सह सिद्धिभिः ॥

Professor Wilson—Oxford *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*, pp. 191-2—completes, in some sort, the set of ten “radicals” here included; but only by copying Vāchaspati where he supplements the text, and by misunderstanding him there and elsewhere. Vāchaspati connects *astitwa* with both *puruṣa* and *prakṛiti*; and yet in order to make but one category of the whole, Professor Wilson makes two: “existence of soul” and “existence of nature.” Again, Vāchaspati explains *s'eshavṛitti*, by *sthiti*, which he refers to *sthūla* and *sūkṣhma*. Professor Wilson, dividing, as before, gives two categories, “duration of subtle” and “that of gross.” *Viyoga* and *yoga* are left, by Vāchaspati, unexplained, as being too plain to demand elucidation. Prof. Wilson throws them out altogether.

In an anonymous marginal note to one of my MSS. of the *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*, I have found the verses given above from the *Rāja-*

C. The *Sāṅkhya-krama-dīpikā*, *Sāṅkhyālakāra*, or *Sāṅkhya-sūtra-prakāśhikā* ;* likewise of unknown paternity.

D. The *Tattwa-yāthārthya-dīpana*, by Bhāvāgaṇeś'a Dīkshita, son of Bhāvāvis'wanātha Dīkshita, and pupil of Vijnāna Bhikshu.

E. An unnamed volume of annotations, by Kshemānanda Dīkshita,† son of Raghunandana Dīkshita.

III. The *Sāṅkhya-pravachana*, on which but two regular commentaries have been ascertained as now extant :

A. The *Aniruddha-vṛtti*, by Aniruddha.‡

vārttika, with the following stanza in place of their first couplet and a half :

पुरुषः प्रकृतिर्बुद्धिरहङ्कारो गुणत्रयः ।
तन्मात्रनिन्दितं भूतं जैल्लिकार्थाः स्रुता दश ॥

The commentaries on the *Tattwa-samāsa* cite the ensuing couplet for an enumeration of the ten radicals :

अस्तित्वसकत्वमयार्थवच्चं पारार्थ्यमन्यत्वमकार्त्तता च ।
योगो वियोगो बहवः पुनांसः स्थितिः शरीरस्य च शेषवृत्तिः ॥

The term *astitwa*, here used, is explained, by the other commentators, as it is by Vāchaspati. *Viśeśha-vṛttih* is, in some MSS., substituted for *cha ś'eshha-vṛttih*. Its import is represented as above. See, regarding it, the sixty-seventh *Kārikā* of Is'warakrishṇa.

* This work was published and translated by Dr. J. R. Ballantyne, in 1850. Its titles were, at that time, unascertained.

Dr. Röer—*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, for 1851, p. 405,—states, that the author of the *Sāṅkhya-tattwa-vilāsa* imputes this work to Āsuri; but he contests the credibility of the attribution, on the showing of the commentary itself. It does not positively appear, however, that the author of the *Sāṅkhya-tattwa-vilāsa* is speaking of the *Sāṅkhya-krama-dīpikā*.

† The only copy I have inspected of Kshemānanda's notes on the *Tattwa-samāsa*, is imperfect in its latter half.

‡ Vijnāna Bhikshu refers to him; and he is named in Rāghava Ananda's *Tattwārṇava*.

a. The *Sāṅkhya-vṛtti-sūtra*, by Mahādeva Sarasvatī,* more commonly called Vedānti Mahādeva, disciple of Swayamprakāśa Tīrtha, is an abridgment of Aniruddha, but contains many original remarks by the epitomist.

B. The *Sāṅkhya-pravachana-bhāṣhya* or *Sāṅkhya-bhāṣhya*, by Vijnāna Bhikṣu.†

* The *Gīrvaṇa-pada-manjarī* by Varadarāja Bhaṭṭa, takes notice of a gloss on a *Sāṅkhya-bhāṣhya*. In the opening couplets to many copies of the *Laghu-kaumudī*,—which was written in *Samvat* 1715, or A. D. 1658,—Varadarāja is called pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, and, as such, preceded Nāges'a Bhaṭṭa by two generations. See Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. II., pp. 12, 13. If, then, it be not Mahādeva's epitome which Varadarāja intends, he probably refers to some work now lost.

† It was published by the editor of this volume, in 1854-1856, and forms Nos. 94, 97, and 141 of the *Bibliotheca Indica*. The oldest MS. used for it was dated in *Samvat* 1711, or A. D. 1654.

Dr. J. R. Ballantyne, in 1852-1856, published the *Sāṅkhya-pravachana*, with portions of commentary, and an English translation of both, in three volumes. As, in the last two, he has simply reprinted the Sanskrit as edited by me, some acknowledgment of obligation would not, perhaps, have been more than my due.

The first edition of the *Sāṅkhya-pravachana-bhāṣhya* bears the imprint of Serampore, 1821: Svo. pp. 220. This seems to be the publication announced as having been projected by "Mr. Carey and his assistants," under the auspices of the Council of Fort William, and the Asiatic Society of Bengal. See Captain Roebuck's *Annals of the College of Fort William*, p. 157. The faults of that impression need not now be made the subject of particularization. The editors of the volume had the advantage of a manuscript, or manuscripts, much superior to the use they made of their appliances.

The *Sāṅkhya-pravachana* contains 526 aphorisms, that is to say, in the six lectures, 164, 47, 84, 32, 129, and 70, respectively. As for this enumeration, even if it had not the support, by express declaration, of annotators, yet the tenor of their scholia would, in general, authorize it with sufficient distinctness. But it is expressly

a. The *Laghu-sān hya-sūtra-vṛitti*, or *Laghu-sāṅkhya-vṛitti*, by Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa, or Nāges'a Bhaṭṭa Upādhyāya, is an abstract of the last.

supported, by notation, in all the copies of the pure text that I have consulted, and in most of the MSS. of Vijnāna's commentary, and of Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa's abstract of it, that I have collated. Anirudha, and his epitomist Mahādeva, of whose works such MSS. as I have examined likewise have the aphorisms numbered, concur, essentially, in the forementioned distribution and aggregate. The only difference which they discover consists in halving the 121st aphorism of Lecture V.; thus bringing out 527 as the sum total.

M. Saint-Hilaire—*Premier Mémoire sur le Sāṅkhya*, p. 6,—computes the Sāṅkhya aphorisms at 479; or 156, 46, 76, 30, 122, and 69. This came from his trusting, with a confidence not altogether scholarlike, the uncritical Serampore volume, which, with other faults, frequently gives text as commentary, and sometimes gives commentary as text. The consequence, to his essay, of neglecting due circumspection and research, is sufficiently disadvantageous. I add a couple of specimens.

Commenting on the fifty-fourth *Kārikā*, M. Saint-Hilaire writes:

"Lecture 3, sūtra 44 [48]: 'En haut, il y a prédominance de la bonté.'

"Kapila ne va pas plus loin; et après avoir indiqué, comme on l'a vu, l'existence des trois mondes en n'indiquant que le monde des dieux où règne la bonté, il ne dit point quelle qualité prédomine dans les mondes qui viennent après celui-là. Il est probable que la *Kārikā*, en faisant prédominer l'obscurité dans le monde inférieur, et le mal dans le monde du milieu, se conforme à une tradition dès longtemps reçue; mais, dans les axiomes du maître, ce complément à peu près indispensable de sa pensée n'apparaît pas, et il n'en a rien exprimé, pas même par une de ces réticences qui lui sont si habituelles. Il faut ajouter que le commentateur des Sūtras, Vidjñāna Bhikshou, ne s'est pas arrêté d'avantage à la doctrine que nous retrouvons dans la *Kārikā*, et qu'à la suite de Kapila il a omis de parler des deux autres mondes, placés au-dessous du monde supérieur. Il se borne à dire que par 'en haut' Kapila comprend le monde qui est au-dessus de la terre habitée par les mortels." *Premier Mémoire*, &c., pp. 213, 214.

C. The *Sāṅkhya-taranga*, by Viś'wes'waradatta Miś'ra, or Deva Tīrtha Swāmin, but who was more generally known as

The restoration of III., 49 and 50, which, with the explanations of them, do not appear in the Serampore impression of Vijnāna, at once accounts for several items of the fifty-fourth *Kārikā*, and completely frustrates the criticism just quoted.

Again : " Colebrooke a fait remarquer (*Essays*, tom. I., page 232) que les Soûtras attribués à Kapila mentionnaient le nom de Pantchasikha. Le fait est exact, et Colebrooke en tirait cette double conséquence : d'abord, que les Soûtras n'étaient pas de Kapila lui-même, car il n'aurait pas cité le nom de son disciple ; et, en second lieu, qu' il y avait pour le Sāṅkhya des autorités antérieures aux Soûtras, puisqu'ils invoquaient eux-mêmes le témoignage d'un maître plus ancien qu' eux. J' admetts les deux conséquences signalées par Colebrooke. Mais il aurait dû ajouter que la citation rapportée par lui se trouve dans l'avant-dernier soûtra de tout le système. (Lecture 6, soûtra 68). A cette place, les interpolations ont été plus faciles certainement que dans le corps même de l'exposition, et il est fort possible qu'une main étrangère ait glissé celle-ci à la fin de l'ouvrage. Cette simple indication du nom de Pantchasikha ne nous apprend d'ailleurs absolument rien sur la vie de ce personnage ; elle ne fait que consacrer le souvenir d'une de ses doctrines." *Premier Mémoire*, &c., pp. 253, 254.

Now, in the first place, the suggestion broached by M. Saint-Hilaire, that VI., 68, as being the penultimate aphorism of the *Sāṅkhya-pravachana*, may, not improbably, be an interpolation, is weakened by the fact, that it is followed by two aphorisms instead of one ; and his objection now lies, on his line of argument, more directly against the text commemorating Sanandana,—VI., 69,—which, in his reading of Vijnāna, is consigned to the notes. Again, both he and Colebrooke failed to observe V., 32, which, likewise, in Vijnāna, as received by the former, is simply a scantling of commentary.

The fact, that Panchas'ikha is mentioned in the *Sāṅkhya-pravachana*, fairly compels the alternative of rejecting all we read of his relation to Kapila, or of adopting the view, that Kapila was not the author of those sentences in their present shape. I cannot

Kāślīhājihwa, goes over but a part of the *Sāṅkhya-pravachana*.

believe that he was. In point of style, for one thing, they have not, as I have before remarked, the slightest flavour of antiquity.

Vedānti Mahādeva, annotating V., 32, infers, simply from Panchas'ikha's name being given in the singular number, that the aphorist purposes to mark him as a separatist. The singular must, then, be taken to indicate, as compared with the plural, an inferior degree of respect. But Sanandana, though dignified with the title of *Āchārya*, is yet spoken of in the singular number. Mahādeva's words are: पञ्चशिख इत्येकवचनेन परमतसेतदिति सूचयति ।

In the *Mahābhārata*, XII., 11875, Panchas'ikha is assigned to the family of Parās'ara; and the same poem, XII., 7895, speaks of his mother, Kapilā.

At XII., 7886, of the *Mahābhārata*, it is said :

यमज्ञः कपिलं चाह्वातः परमर्षिं प्रजापतिम् ।

स मन्ये तेन रूपेण विस्मापयति हि खलम् ॥

"I can imagine, that he whom the Sāṅkhyas call Kapila, the mighty sage, the patriarch, is, in person, under this form, exciting our admiration."

Such is the unmistakable sense of the stanza; and so thinks Nīlakanṭha Chaturdhara: स कपिलः। तेन पञ्चशिखसङ्घेन। तत्पञ्चशिखत्वात् तत्तुल्यत्वं। Yet Professor Wilson understands the meaning to be, that Panchas'ikha is there "named . . . Kapila." Oxford *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*, p. 190. Dr. Weber repeats this mistake: "als auch Kapila heisst." *Indische Studien*, Vol. I., p. 433.

A Bangālī translation of the *Sāṅkhya-pravachana-bhāṣhya*, entitled *Sāṅkhya-bhāṣhā-sangraha*, was undertaken by Rāmajaya Tarkālakāra Bhaṭṭāchārya, son of Mrityunjaya. So, at least, the work itself sets forth: but the *Friend of India* for 1823, No. VIII., p. 567, makes them to be joint translators, and adds, that they were, the last-named in succession to the other, "chief pandits in the Supreme Court." Mrityunjaya, surnamed Vidyālakāra, had previously been head-pandit in the College of Fort-William. This version conforms very closely to the Serampore edition of the original, from which, while still unpublished, it appears to have been prepared. How much of the translation was executed, or how much of it was printed, I am unable to say. All that I have seen of it is a fragment of 168

It is a fanciful performance, of slight extent, and of little value.*

IV. The *Rāja-vārttika*, complementarily ascribed to Bhoja, King of Dhārā,† is, probably, a complete body of Sāṅkhya doctrine.

V. The *Sāṅkhya-sūtra*, by Vijnāna Bhikshu, lays out the whole of the Sāṅkhya system within a small compass, and yet perspicuously.

VI. The *Sāṅkhya-tattwa-pradīpa*, by Kavirāja Yati, dis-

octavo pages, breaking off, abruptly, in the midst of the commentary on the eighty-ninth Aphorism of the first Lecture—according to my numbering. The volume was published at Serampore, in 1818. It opens with a short preface in Sanskrit; and it gives the *sūtras* in the original language, and in large characters.

At Benares I have inspected a manuscript translation, in the provincial dialect, of the *Sāṅkhya-pravachana* and of Vijnāna's exposition in abstract. The author was Ahitāgni Rakshapāla Dūbe; who also showed me Hindī versions, made by himself, on a like model, of the Yoga, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Vedānta, and Mīmāṃsā, Aphorisms, and of S'āṇḍilya's Sentences on Devotion. Each of the translations was accompanied, like that of the *Sāṅkhya-pravachana*, by a Hindī gloss, abridged from the Sanskrit.

* Its author owed his epithet to his wearing a cleft stick on his tongue, during the latter years of his life, as a check on loquacity. Vis'wes'waradatta died at Benares about ten years ago. His preceptor was one Vidyā Aranya Tīrtha, a Sāraswata Brāhman. The *Sāṅkhya-taranga* belongs to a series of tracts called, collectively, *S'ri-kās'i-rāja-sāgara*. I have seen at least twelve or fifteen works by its author, who composed largely in Hindī and Marāthī, no less than in Sanskrit.

† For this appropriation I am indebted to the learned Pandit Kās'ínātha S'āstrī Ashṭaputre, late of the Benares College. The Pandit is by far too well acquainted with Bhoja's commentary on the *Yoga-sūtra*, to have mistaken it for the *Rāja-vārttika*. The latter treatise, he assures me, was in his possession for several years, during which he constantly lectured on it to his pupils.

ciple of Vaikunṭha, is a composition of similar scope, but of inferior value.

VII. The *Sāṅkhyārtha-tattva-pradīpikā*, by Bhaṭṭa Kes'ava, son of Sadānanda, son of Bhaṭṭa Kes'ava, resembles the last, and is not a work of much account.*

In the *Sāṅkhya-sāra* we have the best known existing treatise in which to study the system ascribed to Kapila. This treatise consists of two sections, in prose and in verse, respectively. The first section is in three chapters, treating of emancipation as the fruit of discriminative apprehension, of the character of such apprehension, and of that from which spirit is to be discriminated.† The second section contains seven chapters, explanatory of the nature of spirit, of the

* Colebrooke speaks of a work entitled *Saṅgraha*, having to do with the Sāṅkhya. I do not recall having met, in the course of my researches, with any reference to it. See *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I., p. 234.

The *Sāṅkhya-muktāvalī*, by Voḍhu, is the name of a Sāṅkhya work possibly now, or once, in existence; if the bare word of a man who has declared to me, that he once possessed and perused a copy of it, is to be received. But I strongly suspect that he fabricated the title of the treatise, for the occasion.

Mr. William Ward has published a list of Sāṅkhya compositions, in his work on the Hindus; Vol. II., p. 121: Svo. ed. of 1822. That list is, however, one mass of errors, and errors almost too gross to deserve advertence. It assigns the *Kapila-bhāṣhya* to Viśwes'warī, perhaps instead of Vijnānes'wara, as one sometimes hears Vijnāna Bhikshu incorrectly called; while it speaks of the *Sāṅkhya-prava-chana-bhāṣhya* as a distinct composition, and neglects to name its author. Vāchaspati Miśra's *Sāṅkhya-kaumudī* is, in like manner, duplicated. This for a sample.

† In that chapter, the third, there is much about the term *guṇa*. At p. 6, *supra*, a note on the subject has been promised; but, for the present, it must be postponed. In the meantime, the reader is referred to my translation of Pandit Nehemiah Nīlakaṇṭha's *Rational Refutation*, &c., pp. 42, etc.

distinction between spirit and what is not spirit, of coercion of the mind, of emancipation in the body,* and of supreme emancipation.

But for my being on the point of leaving India, with no thought of returning, I should append to this preface a full translation of the *Sāṅkhya-sāra*, accompanied by annotations.†

The following pages were printed from two undated manuscripts. One of them I procured at Benares; and the other belongs to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. For the readings of the latter, I have to thank Mr. Cowell, the Society's Secretary. Though I spared no pains in the quest, no other manuscripts but those I have used were obtainable; and my text, I am well aware, is not immaculate.

Camp Tappá,
State of Gwalior,
March 15, 1862.

* Colebrooke represents the *Sāṅkhya-sāra* as being a "treatise on the attainment of beatitude in this life." *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I., p. 231. That topic is one of two to which its concluding chapter only is devoted.

† Mr. Ward's version of the *Sāṅkhya-sāra*, with all its imperfections, is of some value. It will be found in his work on the Hindus, Vol. II., pp. 121-172 of the octavo edition printed in 1822.

